Daily Report

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Izetbegovic Absent from New York Talks

LD1903224893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2225 GMT 19 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, March 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic on Friday [19 March] failed to attend a meeting with the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, who had to visit him at his hotel for the second time in two days.

Vance and Owen, obviously [word indistinct], did not reveal the reason of Izetbegovic's failure to attend the meeting, scheduled for 2 p.m. eastern standard time.

The two cochairmen on Friday met with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and U.S. envoy at the talks Reginald Bartholomew.

They are to meet with Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban later on Friday, and on Saturday with Vitaliy Churkin—Russia's deputy foreign minister and its envoy at the talks.

TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Bosnian Serb delegation that the talks with Vance and Owen on Friday failed to produce the rapprochement of the stands.

Vance and Owen insisted that their maps for Bosnia be accepted, and the Serb side sticked to its objections on Bosnia's division on ten semi-autonomous provinces, the same sources added.

On Friday afternoon, Karadzic is to meet the U.N. Security Council president, New Zealand Ambassador Terrence O'Brien.

Butrus-Ghali: 'Time Is Running Out' for Talks

AU1903205693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Report by Tatjana Lenard from New York]

[Text] The New York negotiations on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina have reached a critical stage. Time is running out. If something is not done within next several days, the Security Council will take measures. This is what Dr. Butrus-Ghali, UN secretary general, told Vladislav Jovanovic, Yugoslav minister for foreign affairs, half an hour ago. Dr. Butrus-Ghali spoke in favor of not missing a chance for peace and pointed out that for the United Nations this is the last round of negotiations. If there are no results, apart from the resolution on harshening the regime of flights over Bosnia, one may also expect new sanctions against Yugoslavia although it is not a side in the conflict. Dr. Butrus-Ghali pointed out the positive role Yugoslavia has played so far in the peace process, and now he expects it to cordially persuade the Serb side in the negotiations to accept the package offered by Vance and Owen.

During the talks, the Yugoslav foreign minister complained that the Security Council often acts in a hurried manner and, on the basis of unproven reports, facilely makes decisions that have very serious consequences. Jovanovic also insisted that the Committee for Sanctions should be more expeditious when humanitarian needs are at stake.

Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] continued talks with Vance and Owen. According to Geneva Conference Spokesman Fred Eckhard, thanks also to this meeting the humanitarian aid convoy arrived in Srebrenica two hours ago. True, it was without its armed escorts. The Geneva cochairmen are also going to meet with Alija Izetbegovic, whom they still expect to sign the maps. Therefore, following their visit to his hotel last night, Vance and Owen made the leader of the Bosnian Muslims return to the talks in the UN Headquarters.

Today Vance and Owen, as are Jovanovic and probably Karadzic, too, are going to hold separate meetings with Russian negotiator Vitaliy Churkin.

One hour ago, the draft resolution on harshening the flight ban over Bosnia was adopted at the consultative session of the Security Council. The resolution envisages the use of force, that is, downing any plane that is proven to have violated Security Council provisions on the flight ban. It was announced that this resolution may be adopted at the beginning of next week, but its implementation will wait for several days, because of the problem of the security of UNPROFOR troops in Bosnia.

Another informal Security Council session of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been convened for this afternoon.

Karadzic Threatens To Leave Talks Over Sanctions

LD2003003093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2339 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said in New York on Friday [19 March] the Bosnian Serbs were fed up with unjust punishment by the international community.

"Any new sanctions will cause fury of the entire Serbian people, of all of 12 million Serbs," Karadzic said after a meeting with New Zealand Ambassador Terrence O'Brian—the U.N. Security Council president in March.

Karadzic said his delegation would leave the talks if new sanctions were adopted against the Serbian people wherever they lived. "We are fed up with pressure," he added.

Karadzic and O'Brian discussed the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina and a resolution which the Security Council is preparing to enforce a no-fly zone over the former Yugoslav republic.

Karadzic said the planes which on Saturday allegedly bombed Moslem villages in eastern Bosnia did not belong to the Serbs, but came from the Croatian region of Slavonija and were apparently theirs. "We do not do such things, and the next time we will down such planes," Karadzic set out.

He said he had an impression that local Croats would accept his proposal for the acceptance of the undisputed part of the Bosnian maps, if Vance and Owen supported it. "This could save the talks and help that peace be reached soon," he added.

However, the two international mediators insist that the maps, envisaging the division of Bosnia into ten semi-autonomous provinces, be accepted as a whole and in the form which they have proposed.

The Security Council on Friday resumed consultations on a resolution to enforce the no-fly zone which was imposed as part of the U.N. October 9 resolution.

Diplomatic circles hese say a group of the non-aligned countries, headed by Venezuela, is trying to arrange that the resolution include the destruction of heavy weapons if they were further used in the Bosnian conflict.

Serbs To Leave Talks if Further Sanctions Imposed

AU2003162193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from New York]

[Text] Although no visible progress was achieved in the last three days of the third round of New York negotiations on a peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, a new negotiating attempt by cochairmen of the conference Cyrus Vance and David Owen to find ways for a possible agreement among the leaders of the three warring factions is expected today.

The tense atmosphere and negotiating strain were adversely affected by Izetbegovic's demonstrative breaking off of the talks on Thursday [18 March] and especially by the all-prevailing pressure to find a solution and accord that would secure the remaining signatures in the course of the next few days. This is primarily reflected in the action of the UN Security Council of adopting on Monday [22 March] the long called-for U.S. resolution authorizing the use of force against the airplanes and aircraft that violate no-fly zone above Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is now also supported by France and Great Britain. There are also threats that sanctions against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be stepped up if the talks fail, which is probably because it is presumed that Alija Izetbegovic [president of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] will sign the maps, as instructed.

[Leader of Bosnian Serbs] Radovan Karadzic stated last night that the conference can only be saved by his proposal to endorse the uncontested section of the maps immediately, while the contested territories should be put under UN protection. Regarding the announced resolution on downing aircraft that violate the no-fly zone above Bosnia and tightening of sanctions, Karadzic said he is opposed to these resolutions and added that further punishment of the Serbian nation would provoke great rage of the entire nation of 12 million Serbs.

Karadzic said that his delegation would leave the talks if any new sanctions against the Serbian nation anywhere are imposed.

New meetings of Vance and Owen with Radovan Karadzic, Alija Izetbegovic, and [leader of Bosnian Croats] Mate Boban are expected today. The Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin, who arrived in New York last night, is now also being drawn into the talks. His arrival is supposed to further clarify the Russian position at a moment when these talks have reached the crucial phase. In yesterday's talks with Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, Butrus-Ghali called the talks the last chance for peace, as, according to Butrus-Ghali, the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis has now entered its critical phase.

One should expect, however, that a rational approach will nevertheless prevail with the international powers, as threats and pressures could never achieve what an objective and patient negotiating process could.

Karadzic Discusses Sanctions Threat, Talks

AU2003205793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Report by Tatjana Lenard from New York]

[Excerpts] The talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina in New York continue even during the weekend. Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Bosnian Muslims, continued with hotel diplomacy. He is holding talks with Vance, Owen [cochairmen of the conference], and representative of Bosnian Croats Mate Boban in the Mayflower Hotel. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic met Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin. Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], will meet with the cochairmen of Geneva conference here in the UN Headquarters in one hour. [passage omitted]

Additional pressure on the Serbian side is carried out by Venezuela, whose representative in the UN Security Council demanded that Serbian heavy arms be put under international control even before all three sides sign the Vance-Owen plan. Dr. Radovan Karadzic spoke about these pressures and threats at a gala reception that he

held at the Hilton Hotel for the prominent Serbian expatriates last night. Let us listen to what he said:

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] I must say that some of these threats are big. Some of these threats are realistic. They are squeezing Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, which are absolutely innocent in all this. Whatever we receive from Yugoslavia the Muslims receive from the entire world. Therefore, this fascism goes so far that one of the participants in the talks demanded from [Serbian] President Milosevic not to send us food anymore. This is pure fascism. They are sending food from all over the world and especially arms. We let this get through to the Muslims via our territories, and they expect Serbia to cut off the supply of food and medication. There is no Serbian Government that would do this, and they know it.

[Question indistinct]

[Karadzic] Yes. This conference is nearing its end, we believe, an unsuccessful end. Namely, they insist that maps would not be changed. That is to say, they are actually changing them. They changed the original map without the consensus, giving another two corridors to the Muslims and a little something to us that was ours anyway. It seems that they are determined to insist upon this and to make the conference fail. They are now looking for a culprit just as they have been doing it all this time.

Naturally, if the conference fails the Serbs will be to blame, and there will probably be further dickering. There will be no new sanctions. I doubt they would be allowed to do this, as Russia would... [pauses] I mean, Yeltsin will fall if they impose new sanctions.

Our greatest concern is that the Serbs in Serbia and in Montenegro suffer as a result of our just struggle. I can tell you that they do not complain. I can tell you that the people there are equally dedicated as you are here—the people, the assembly, the [republic] parliaments—they are all committed and determined to help the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the extent to which their struggle is just. It seems to me that our enemies are achieving what is said of Russia and what also applies to Serbia, namely, that Russia or Serbia move slowly just like Ivan's bell, but once this bell gets in the swing it rings for a long time and can be heard far and wide. [end recording]

Vance, Owen Continue To Seek Peaceful Solution

LD2103141493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Pool" item—by Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] New York, March 21 (TANJUG)—International mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen on Sunday continue their efforts to find a peaceful settlement to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although diplomats believe that the third round of the peace talks is at an impasse after four days of unsuccessful negotiations.

To round off the Bosnia peace package, the cochairmen of the Geneva-based international conference on the former Yugoslavia must obtain the signatures of the Moslem and Serb sides on a map dividing the war-battered former Yugoslav republic into 10 provinces.

Leaving the United Nations building in New York on Saturday, Vance told reporters with resignation that he had nothing new to say.

Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic thinks there is nothing more to talk about at this point, said Vance and added that this was Izetbegovic's personal opinion and that there were other things for the mediators to do.

A diplomatic source close to the cochairmen said that if no agreement was reached by the middle of the next week, Vance and Owen would admit a failure and turn the matter over to the U.N. Security Council.

Vance and Owen were scheduled to meet with Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban on Saturday, but Izetbegovic and Boban, who is expected to put pressure on Izetbegovic to sign the map, met alone instead.

Boban on Saturday evening briefed Vance and Owen on his meeting with Izetbegovic and told reporters that the Bosnian Moslem leader was very much irritated by renewed Bosnian Serb attacks on Srebrenica in the east.

Boban did not hide his disappointment with the fact that Izetbegovic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic refused to sign the map. It is unbelievable how national leaders come to view the tragedy of their people as a normal thing, Boban said.

Fred Eckhard, spokesman for the mediators, said that Croats were in a hurry to sign the document.

Asked whether it was true that Izetbegovic was now saying that he would boycotting the talks as long as Srebrenica was under siege and the shooting in Sarajevo continued, Eckhard said that the scheme was always the same—the Moslems keep firing until the Serbs respond with all might.

Vance and Owen met on Saturday with Karadzic, but no progress was reported. Karadzic said that all three sides to the conflict should adopt a declaration on ending the war and not only on a cease-fire.

As for the Serb side, the more it yields, the greater the pressure, he added. This creates problems with our people, and if this trend continues, you may end with much more radical negotiators at the conference table, said Karadzic.

In his latest diplomatic manoeuvre, Izetbegovic on Saturday announced through his U.N. ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey that Bosnia-Herzegovina filed a claim with the International Court of Justice in The Hague accusing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of committing a "genocide in Bosnia."

Sacirbey said that the international community had not reacted adequately to the problem and that the claim was aimed at punishing Serbia and Montenegro if their guilt was established.

Another diplomat told TANJUG that it was incomprehensible that Izetbegovic would be using fresh fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a pretext to boycott the peace talks. "This conference is being held precisely because of the fighting, otherwise it would not be [words indistinct] he said.

The diplomat also said that it was highly probable that in the end the Serbs would turn out the only guilty party. Serbs are the textbook example of how a media propaganda war should not be waged, he said. Since last autumn, Moslems have provoked almost all fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbs have overreacted to such provocations, the diplomat said. The media consequences of such a conduct are well known, he said in conclusion.

Silajdzic on Peace Talks, Situation in Bosnia

LD2203112993 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, in London, by announcer Peter Snow, on 19 March; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] Well, I have been talking to the Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, who was in London this afternoon, and I asked him why he thought the international community was not doing more?

[Silajdzic] This aggression has been going on now for almost a year, without impunity, and it is not [as heard] wonder that they are trying to take as much as they can, then that makes our talks in New York almost irrelevant as far as the situation on the ground goes.

[Snow] Doesn't it actually make them even more important, shouldn't you really sign up to the Vance-Owen deal and then get maximum pressure on the Serbs because they are the only people who will not have signed up?

[Silajdzic] There is a lot of truth in what you say, but from here it looks that way. From Bosnia people being killed in hundreds, in thousands, starved to death, those cannot understand that their representatives are talking business as usual, they are talking peace while bombs and shells reign on Sarajevo, on Srebrenica and other cities. They do not understand why we are doing that, what is the good coming of it.

[Snow] I recognize that, but, I mean the fact is that you are going to lose the whole of eastern Bosnia if you do not move very quickly surely to get the international community on your side, the international community is offering you this Vance-Owen formula and if you sign then at least you can isolate Serbian action.

[Silajdzic] Well I am glad you asked this question because it is not clear at all what happens when we sign, and I hope we will sign, and President Izetbegovic is right now in New York and I am going back to New York to resume negotiations. What happens after we sign, there is no clear answer to that, and I think that is one of the major obstacles to peace.

[Snow] How far are you from signing?

[Silajdzic] We have proposed adjustments to this plan, especially considering the continuity of the governments instruction [as heard], of course of our constitution, status of Sarajevo, and other issues, but as I say this is a signature and given the situation, given our previous experiences, the suffering of people of Bosnia will not stop. The international community should decide what to do if the aggressive side does not sign or shows no willingness to stop the aggression. What happens then, there is no clear answer.

[Snow] Do you think, in your heart of hearts that the people who are being driven out of Srebrenica today will ever get their homes back?

[Silajdzic] They will get them back.

[Snow] How?

[Silajdzic] They must get back, we shall fight for that if the international community will not live up to the expectations and reverse the ethnic cleansing, then we must fight because it is our right. No one has right to expel people, to kill people, to ethnically cleanse, that is a euphemism for genocide these days with impunity, we must fight for that. If the international community is not prepared to take action itself, then we should be allowed to defend ourselves. The arms embargo, which was a great mistake to begin with, the arms embargo on Bosnia must be lifted, we must take arms to defend ourselves. Either stop them or let us stop them.

[Snow] Do you have any money?

[Silajdzic] Unfortunately not very much. We need assistance, almost one and a half million people left homes, we have thousands of wounded, hundreds of thousands of wandering people, homeless people, and frankly that is even if the peace comes tomorrow it will be a great task to provide shelter and food for those displaced homeless.

Manfred Woerner Addresses People's Assembly

AU1903150793 Tirana ATA in English 1333 GMT 19 Mar 93

["NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner Addresses the Albanian Parliament"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 19 (ATA)—The NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner went today before noon to the People's Assembly. In the entrance of the hall he was welcomed by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori, the two vice chairmen Tomor Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj.

In his address Mr. Arbnori said:

NATO secretary general has come to speak in the Albanian Parliament precisely when our deputies have in the agenda to discuss the draft law on the human rights and freedoms, the most important law in the Fundamental Constitutional Provisions. This will be one of the most powerful weapons which will help us to be ranked with dignity side by side of the European democratic countries.

Albania is pursuing a peaceful policy based on the Helsinki principles. Thanks to this peaceful policy we have established relations with NATO and NATO has established relations with us. Albania is invited in all the sessions of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. We appreciate the aid of NATO regarding the reorganization of the Albanian Army. Mr. Woerner has come in our country to make his contribution to peace in the Balkans, to extinguish the flames of war where they are kindled, and to prevent their extension in the Republic of Kosovo, which threatens peace. He will find in Albania the good will to make our contribution to this question.

Albania is West-oriented and this is proved since in the epoch of Scanderbeg, it is also proving it today. Allow me to present Mr. Manfred Woerner with a symbolic present: an Albanian hand-made sword.

Taking the floor at the People's Assembly, Mr. Woerner said:

Today a new Albania is emerging from those long years of self-imposed isolation. It is seeking cooperation with our Alliance and integration into the new Europe.

Further on he explained why does the alliance value the cooperation with Albania, and why is Albania important to the security and stability of the Balkan region and Europe as a whole. The goal of my visit, he said, is to extend the hand of cooperation to Albania, and thus to build further on the warm relations that we have established since President Berisha addressed the North Atlantic Council last December. I want, in particular, to discuss with you what we can do together to deepen our cooperation and make it as relevant as possible to your concerns.

Albania may well be a small country but it has an important role to play. It is at the heart of Europe's most turbulent region, so the success of Albania's internal reform program and the policy it pursues vis-a-vis its neighbours has a significance extending far beyond your borders. The active participation of Albania in the search for security and stability in the Balkans and in South Eastern Europe is essential, and something which our alliance very much wishes to encourage.

Of course, your country is in a very difficult and delicate situation. In view of the conflict which is raging just over your borders, and your understandable concern at the fate of ethnic Albanians outside your country, I imagine that is not always easy to exercise restraint. But the fact that you have exercised restraint has been a vital factor in preventing the Yugoslav conflict becoming even more dangerous. I thus very much hope that you will continue this policy of restraint, despite the considerable pressures on Albania. We know only too well in this respect how the Yugoslav conflict is hampering your efforts in internal reform.

The alliance is already helping to implement the decisions of the UN in the former Yugoslavia. NATO and WEU [Western European Union] ships are enforcing sanction in the Adriatic. We are especially pleased that Albania has agreed to cooperate fully with NATO in enforcing those sanctions. Your help has been invaluable in making this enforcement programme effective. It is a notable example of how the alliance can work with a cooperation partner, such as Albania, in carrying out its new mission of supporting UN peacekeeping.

After its long years of isolation, Albania is moving rapidly to be an active member of the international community. You have joined the CSCE process and also our alliance's North Atlantic Cooperation Council. You have signed a trade and cooperation agreement with the EC. In doing so, you have shown your attachment to our common democratic values and that you look towards the modern world after so many years of seclusion. Our alliance, and the other Western institutions, will give Albania material as well as political support to proceed along this path.

It will not be easy for communism has left behind it a spiritual as well as political and economic vacuum that cannot be filled overnight. All of us in the alliance admire the courage and determination which Albania has shown to overcome its problems. Given the chaos surrounding the collapse of communism, the devastated economy and paralysed institutions, the progress in restoring public order, reducing inflation, privatizing the economy, and restarting industrial production is truly impressive. Albanians are famous for their determination and resilience. These qualities preserved your country's independence during the years of confrontation in Europe. Now, I believe that they can be applied with equal success to the task of modernising your country and integrating it into the Western community. So,

despite the hardship, I urge you to preserve along the bold and resolute course you have started.

The action of the Atlantic alliance today is based on the premise that security is indivisible. Our alliance's security concept does not stop at our borders but embraces all of Europe. Instability in one area will only encourage instability elsewhere. We therefore recognize our responsibility to help you consolidate your newly-won 'freedoms and to complete your transition smoothly. Only in an environment of cooperation and peace can your determination to become a modern, democratic society be truly successful.

After speaking of the new role of the Atlantic alliance in projecting security and stability in Europe, Mr. Woerner said:

Most importantly, the alliance's new role in peacekeeping does not exclude participation by other CSCE states. Indeed, a major focus of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council is peacekeeping. We are currently involved in intensive discussion which will lead in due course not only to the sharing of experiences but also to practical cooperation in training, exercises, and planning.

Further he explained the cooperation of NATO with Albania.

We appreciate your desire to receive specific support from NATO. Already in recent weeks a number of Alliance delegations have visited your country, culminating in my own visit to Tirana. These NATO teams have held extensive discussions with your government and we have together identified many appropriate areas for cooperation. My NATO colleagues have also remarked on how well they are working with their Albanian counterparts and on the friendly way in which they have been received.

One is the reorganization of the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff. We can also provide timely advice and assistance on the development of your defence policy and military doctrine. These documents have a special role to play in conforming Albania's peaceful intentions and desire to contribute constructively to regional and European security.

So we have acquired a good deal of practical experience in this area which we wish to share with Albania. Already Albanian officers are participating in courses at NATO's military academies. Among the ideas that we are also currently considering is sending expert civilian-military teams in the near future. Naturally, the restructuring of Albania's armed forces cannot be achieved overnight. But we are determined to help you to build modern armed forces that can not only preserve your independence but also be our partners in upholding cooperative security in Europe.

Our cooperation is a dynamic process. We sometimes forget that it is little more than a year old. Moreover, senior Albanian officials have the added opportunity to interact with the Alliance by participating in the meetings of NATO defence ministers with cooperation partners on 29 March and chiefs of staff with cooperation partners on 28 April. We have come a long way very quick'y. Our frank and open exchanges of views on security issues will become increasingly beneficial to both sides, Mr. Woerner said in conclusion.

Holds Talks With Zhulali

AU1903183693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] Experts assessed the 40-minute closed-door talks between our defense minister and NATO's secretary general as very fruitful.

Despite the fact that we are still not accepted in NATO, we will act as a good member of the North Atlantic Alliance, Mr. Safet Zhulali said after this meeting.

[Begin Zhulali recording] We decided to further increase the cooperation between Albania and NATO in the field of defense in every direction in the framework of restructuring the Albanian Army. [end recording]

The presence of NATO Secretary General Woerner in our country [words indistinct] full of tension in the region of the Balkans. Concerning the Kosovo problem, Mr. Zhulali stressed that it is necessary to station peacekeeping forces in Kosovo and demilitarize it. Regarding its defense policy, Albania will be a factor of peace and stability in the region, he stressed.

On his part, Mr. Woerner expressed gratitude for the warm reception. He said that one of the goals of his visit is to develop relations between Albania and its armed forces and NATO. He knows the situation in Albania from the visit of the group of NATO experts. He said in the context of their possibilities they have decided to help us. The ties between Albania and NATO are very important not only for Albania but also for other countries.

[Begin Woerner recording] We have talked about concrete steps. [end recording]

We are now interested in controlling the situation and helping the UN, Woerner stressed. Of course, my visit to Albania has not only a symbolic but also a realistic value, because it signals to the world that your security is our direct interest. NATO is concerned and will contribute so that the conflict is not spread to other countries. I think that my visit and that of Field Marshall Vincent will contribute to this goal. Woerner said: I can assure you that I will do everything in my power to help you in further developing relations and cooperation.

Attends News Conference

AU2003163393 Tirana ATA in English 1416 GMT 20 Mar 93

["Press Conference of President Berisha and Secretary General of NATO Mr. Woerner"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—President Berisha and Mr. Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO, gave a press conference in the end of his visit to Albania.

President Berisha said: The first visit of NATO's secretary general to Albania was very successful and very important to the peace and stability in the region. We highly appreciate the extreme important role that North Atlantic Alliance played to overthrow communism and establish the democratic regimes in Eastern Europe. We highly appreciate Mr. Woerner's role to the alliance, his great contribution to maintain and guarantee the values of democracy. It was this great role that the changes in Eastern Europe had more or less peaceful character. We greatly appreciate the determination of the secretary general and NATO in general for the new role and dimensions of the North Atlantic Alliance, which are to the interest of peace, stability, and development of democracy in Europe and the world.

The visit of Mr. Woerner to Albania marks a very significant step in Albania's cooperation with NATO and the peace and stability in the region. Albania's cooperation with NATO established recently has in its foundation Albania's determination to build a democratic society based on the rule of law, strict observation of human rights and freedoms, market economy, that is, those universal values NATO guaranteed for half a century and on which are based the societies of North Atlantic Alliance countries. No doubt this cooperation assumes a special character due to some other geographic, strategic, and historic factors. Geographically Albania is situated near the southern NATO member countries. Its important strategic positions cannot be denied. Communism was an accident for Albania. It has never participated in the sanitary cordon. In my view, the North Atlantic Alliance and the secretary general value all these factors. Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Treaty 30 years ago. I would say that it is due to all these factors that in a short period of time a very intensive political, military, technical cooperation developed between Albania and NATO. The numerous visits at all levels, which culminated with the visit of secretary general and, which was preceded by the visit of the NATO senior official, Field Marshal Vincent, are a clear proof to NATO's great political support for Albania. Also the establishment of cooperation between Albanian naval forces and NATO units and the West European Community reveals the sincerity between the two partners. In this framework Albania intends to attain the full restructuring of the Armed Forces in keeping with NATO standards, thus creating an army that matches a democratic society.

Having put its candidature for NATO membership, Albania also intends that its requirement be considered at the proper moment. Naturally the goal of this cooperation is that Albania render its contribution to peace and stability in the region.

We discussed with Mr. Woerner the crisis in the region. The conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina is dangerous to the Balkans and Europe. In my view the cause for this conflict is Milosevic's determination to create Big Serbia [Greater Serbia]. We also expressed to Mr. Woerner our view that Milosevic's double face attitude to the international community favours to some extent this conflict. On one hand embargo is declared, on the other hand he gets oil and the necessary means to carry on war. On the one hand he creates Karadzic type samples, on the other hand he shouts to influence them. On the one hand the victim is deprived of the right to get armed, on the other hand he is allowed to arm the aggressor. We would highly appreciate the fact that NATO and the U.S.A. persist to put an end to the application of two standards in respect to Milosevic. We are sure that this would contribute to restore stability in the region. Milosevic and his forces are overestimated. More extreme measures will be a rebuff to him.

Very alarming is the situation in Kosovo. We have insisted and insist to put Kosovo under NATO control. This would provide chances for a correct political solution, which naturally would be accepted by all. Our position is clear: We are not for change of borders. We are determined to do our best to prevent the conflict just as we are resolute to cope by all manner of means with the forceful ethnic cleansing of the Albanians from their homes.

The stability and independence of Macedonia is very significant to Albania and the Balkans. The initiatives for negotiations between Macedonia and Greece are hopeful. But in the event that the proposal does not work, other proposals may be found which are acceptable to both parties and the solution of this problem would contribute to detente in the south.

In closing I would like to thank Mr. Woerner for this fruitful visit and assure him that this visit was receptive to all the political parties and the Albanians. Also I would like to assure Mr. Woerner that Albania is fully ready to cooperation with NATO and its member countries and it will firmly abide by the agreements on cooperation we signed.

After this, Mr. Woerner took the floor. My visit comes to an end. In my opinion it was very successful. During my stay in Albania, I met with the president, prime minister, minister of defence, and other officials. I also appreciate the chance I was afforded to address the Albanian Parliament. I inspected two military bases, too.

What did we attain? In my opinion we further strengthened the friendly relations and cooperation between Albania and NATO. We developed these relations in a very short period of time since Albania became a

member of the Cooperation Council. I uphold that my visit further promoted this process.

There is no doubt and I would like to reiterate that the place of new Albania is in Europe. Its participation in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, cooperation with European Community and European Council guarantee Albania's inclusion in the European Community. My visit revealed that Albania's security is in the interest of the Atlantic Alliance and its member countries. This was in fact one of the goals of this visit. NATO seeks to contribute to the stability to the whole region and I suppose my visit would serve all the targets, to prevent spillover of the conflict, and end it. Second, my visit led to the exchange of views in respect of the situation in former Yugoslavia. We appreciated the endeavours of the international community to help Kosovo gain its status and autonomy and to assure the complete observation of the human rights of Kosovars. These targets are also supported by all our allies.

I express my gratitude to the Albanian policy pursued in regard to Kosovo and I ask you to continue it. I was inspired by the determination of the Albanian Government to be a source of stability in the region. Third, we discussed different forms that the alliance, NATO, will provide concrete aid to Albania for the modernization of the Armed Forces. Among them are the high frequency devices and particularly the cooperation with NATO member forces. We will provide these equipment in the days to come. We agreed to invite many Albanian officers on the board of NATO ships operating in the Adriatic to increase their knowledge of operations in the sea. Also NATO civil and military experts will attend the military training and programs. The minister of defence and the General Staff will be restructured and reorganized. Also we discussed Albania's sharing in the scientific programs and those of environment.

I leave with the great sense of hope for the prosperous and democratic future for Albania.

Then, Mr. Woerner replied the questions of the reporters. To the question: Do you think that the armed conflict in Bosnia can be solved through political means after the failure of Vance-Owen plan?, Mr. Woerner replied:

As you know, at this very moment, the United Nations in New York try to find a negotiated political solution to this conflict, and these efforts have not yet failed. Our policy of our member nations is to strongly support those efforts and we hope we can have peace plan agreed. And NATO has made it clear that if asked and mandated by the United Nations, we would help to implement such a plan.

To the question regarding the reaction of the Belgrade official mass media towards the visit of Mr. Woerner in Albania, which have attacked even the American mass media, accusing them of encouraging a third Balkan war, and that is it true or not, Mr. Woerner replied: Nonsense.

In response to a question of an Italian TV reporter that what will be the role of NATO in case of complex situations, Mr. Woerner said:

There is no doubt that the situation is highly explosive and dangerous. International community will do everything possible and necessary to prevent the spillover of the conflict. And our alliance members strongly support such a policy. Nobody should have any illusions that a spillover into those regions would mean for the whole of Europe and its security. So we have to do what is necessary. And as I said, it is the policy of our alliance and its member countries to now prevent such a spillover, to deter it. And I think there are no doubts about the strong reaction of the international community if that would happen. Now, I think it is not the moment for the secretary of NATO to speculate about hypothetical cases and our reaction to it. But let me just be very clear that we would take it very serious.

The response of Mr. Woerner to the question whether UN will give the green light to NATO to interfere in Bosnia, was:

As you know, the United Nations represent the international community of states. United Nations have taken the lead in the efforts to solve this crisis. NATO will continue to support the United Nations. That is a clear consensus of all our member nations. But we will not replace or try to replace the United Nations, it will not make any sense. Not make any political sense. And not make any other sense. That is the reason why NATO will only act under a mandate of the United Nations. We warned the UN for instance, for the obligation of the no-fly zones. We have offered our service. Presently, our ships enforce the embargo on the Adriatic and in case the UN seeks to apply a peace plan, NATO would be ready to help it. In this respect, I may give a general reply because the concrete response would depend on the scenario, because for ever separate point we seek the approval of 16 member countries. There is no doubt that the NATO member countries will do everything needed to help the UN.

In so far as the question on Mr. Woerner's opinion regarding the specialization of the army officers and what was his message before leaving Albania, the secretary general replied:

Of course I have visited only recently two military installations, I give you very frankly my assessments. I think there is a good motivation, there is lot of good will, and they have not modern equipment, in some cases outdated, so what the Armed Forces need is better equipment and perhaps a better organization, but I discussed with chief of the General Staff how that can be improved. Now, one of the reasons I am here is to discuss ways in which NATO can contribute and assist to an improvement of the situation. And we have come to concrete results. Some of our member countries have already started to assist you, like the example of Italy and others, to exchange personnel, to train officers. Some

officers have already visited NATO schools. Our schools are open to Albanian officers. So you can rely on our assistance we can do both as an alliance and bilaterally between our states to make what is possible to enhance the combat value of the Albanian Armed Forces so that they are able to defend their own country successfully.

Then Mr. Woerner visited the city of Kruje.

Turkish Military Delegation Visits

AU2203095693 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—Recently, a Turkish military delegation, headed by Lieutenant General Omar Sharlak, paid a working visit to Albania. The Turkish delegation visited central health institutions and army units.

The delegation was received in separate meetings by the minister of defense, Safet Zhulali, and the chief of the Army general staff, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho. During the talks on this occasion they expressed satisfation over the development of relations between the two armies and suggested concrete fields of cooperation between the Albanian military medicine and the Turkish one.

Foreign Minister Serreqi Holds Talks in Vienna

WA2203061493

For reportage on the visit to Vienna by Foreign Minister Serreqi, including his talks with Austrian Foreign Minister Mock and Austrian President Klestil, see the Austria section of the 19 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Association Protests 'Hellenization' of South

AU1803145893 Tirana ATA in English 1111 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 18 (ATA)—We powerfully oppose the propaganda and attempts of the Greek chauvinistic circles for the hellenization of south Albania and appeal to our government, political parties, associations, and all other Albanian intellectuals to work together for the consolidation of national identity and protection of territorial integrity of Albania, which is now threatened more than ever, was the opinion expressed in the meeting that Laberia Association and the Political-Patriotic Association Cameria organized with intellectuals in the lectures hall of the Museum of National History.

Zhelev Denies Troop Buildup on Serbian Border

AU2103174093 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 21 Mar 93

["President Zhelev: Bulgaria Is Not Concentrating Troops Along its Border With Serbia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 21 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev once again stated that Bulgaria is not building-up troops along its border with Serbia. So far we have given absolutely no grounds for Bulgaria to be suspected of such preparations, President Zhelev said in the Sunday-150 political programme of the Bulgarian radio. He was asked who stood behind this anti-Bulgarian campaign abroad which, though at unofficial level, is conducted by powerful media—news agencies and papers of large circulation, which are attempting to accuse Bulgaria of violating the UN embargo and of military preparations along its border with Serbia.

Without being categorical, President Zhelev said he believes this campaign to be part of "a game played between those who insist on a NATO military intervention in the former Yugoslavia and those who believe that there should be no such intervention and that the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia should be solved by peaceful means." "I have the feeling that we are something of a pawn in this game," President Zhelev said.

He recalled that when the Belgrade propaganda accused Bulgaria of concentrating troops along the border, the military attaches of the Western countries accredited to Bulgaria were invited to make a flight by helicopter along Bulgaria's entire western border and assured themselves that there are no such preparations.

President Zhelev categorically rejected the idea of the secretary of the Constitutional Committee with the Russian Parliament for the formation of an association of the states of the Byzantine cultural cycle—Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania, Greece and Cyprus.

I believe that this idea is deeply anachronistic in a united or uniting Europe, Dr. Zhelev said when asked by the host of the same programme of the Bulgarian radio whether a possible formation of such an association would not turn into a political trap for Bulgaria, especially against the background of the recent events in Russia.

This reminds me of a resurrection of the dead. Let us not resurrect long disintegrated empires such as the Byzantine, the Ottoman, etc. which cannot be resurrected anyway, despite all efforts.

Dr. Zhelev stressed that in this idea he sees some imperial ambitions of certain circles in Russia. He expressed his conviction that the real democrats in Russia, as well as President Boris Yeltsin, do not share this idea.

Berov Confirms Noninterference in FRY Conflict

AU1903173293 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—Bulgaria is following a course of noninterference in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and has called on the other Balkan states to (?do the same) Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said in Parliament today in response to an interpellation by Mr. Gincho Pavlov M.P. of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Mr. Pavlov asked the prime minister whether the government can rely on parliamentary guarantees to its policy of noninterference in the Yugoconflict.

Bulgaria is not a party to international treaties committing it to involvement in the case of war or threat of war, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said. This makes it possible for us to pursue an independent policy. Prof. Berov said that he does not know of any representative of the government having stated that as regards the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria would maintain neutrality, such an official stand has not been formulated and this renders the seeking of parliamentary guarantees pointless.

According to Mr. Berov, only parliament can answer the question put by Mr. Pavlov. In support of this statement Prof. Berov cited a text of the Bulgarian Constitution according to which the National Assembly approves any deployment and use of Bulgarian Armed Forces outside the country's borders and the deployment of foreign troops on the territory of the country or their crossing of that territory.

Later on the prime minister repeated Bulgaria's stand on the Yugoslav problem and stressed that there have been no differences. Prof. Berov said this in response to an interpellation of Mr. Vladislav Daskalov M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Mr. Daskalov made this interpellation in connection with a statement made by President Zhelev at a press conference during this year's World Economic Forum in Davos that Bulgaria could use force in imposing the embargo within a UN-coordinated operation, according to this M.P.

Prof. Berov said that he had not heard this statement but was acquainted with the president's speech at the forum in which the president insisted on a strict and more efficient enforcement of the embargo against the former Yugoslavia and said that Bulgaria would render full support.

This part of the speech, quoted by the prime minister today, led him to the conclusion that the president's statement to the press was either misunderstood or misinterpreted.

President Opposes Participation in Balkan Conflict

AU1903135993 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Dardan Gashi in Sofia; date not given: "No Participation in Conflict"]

[Text] [Gashi] The Turkish defense minister visited Sofia recently. Was the question of transit permits, which Turkey allegedly wants in case of an expansion of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, discussed during his visit?

[Zhelev] No. So far, Turkey has not requested anything like that. This issue was invented by some Turkish newspapers and has been picked by other media. We have made our position categorically clear: Bulgaria will not participate in the Yugoslav conflict in any way.

[Gashi] Will Bulgaria not intervene militarily either if an armed conflict breaks out in Macedonia?

[Zhelev] We hope that such a conflict will not be permitted. We are of the opinion that, if the war spreads to Kosovo and Macedonia, NATO must intervene. Any interference by Bulgaria or by another Balkan state would lead directly to an all-out Balkan war. And I am afraid that this is what those forces that are responsible for the outbreak of this conflict really want. We are also in favor of not dealing with the Macedonian problem separately from the Kosovo problem, because before the conflict could reach Macedonia, Kosovo would have to go up in flames.

[Gashi] Do the talks with the Greek side involve a compromise over Macedonia?

[Zhelev] We are not authorized to negotiate on Macedonia. However, we are of the opinion that each country and each people has the right to call itself what it likes.

[Gashi] You were the first government to recognize Macedonia's independence but not the existence of a Macedonian nation. There are speculations that by this you want to gain stronger influence on Macedonia in order to initiate unification later on.

[Zhelev] What is important is the recognition of the republic's independence. As regards the recognition of the nation, we think there is not much point in that. Either there is a nation or there is not. A nation does not need recognition. Speculations about unification are naive.

[Gashi] Could the idea of pan-Slavism, which is becoming increasingly stronger in Russia, and the crisis in the Balkans, endanger Bulgaria's policy, which is oriented toward Europe?

[Zhelev] Bulgaria is a Slavic state and in their roots the Bulgarians are close to all the Slavic peoples—including the Serbs. However, this idea does not form a serious basis for an effective policy for us.

Greek Defense Minister Arrives in Sofia

AU2003191893 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—A Greek military delegation led by National Defense Minister Ioannis Varvisiotis arrived here today.

The purpose of my visit is to give an impetus to the already good relations between the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and Greece, the Greek defense minister said upon his arrival.

The official talks between the Bulgarian and Greek military delegations started with a private meeting between Bulgarian Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov and Greek Defense Minister Ioannis Varvisiotis who were later joined by the two delegations.

We discussed the relations between our countries and observed that they are normal, the Greek defense minister said after the meeting. It is our wish to further enhance these relations, he added. I told my Bulgarian counterpart of the intention of the Greek government to do everything possible within the framework of NATO for rendering greater assistance to Bulgaria, Mr. Varvisiotis said. The two sides also discussed the situation in the Balkans. According to the Bulgarian defense minister, the opinions of the two sides on principal issues of mutual interest coincided.

The schedule of the three-day visit of the Greek military delegation includes talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Lyuben Berov.

Ends Visit, Departs

AU2203143893 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] On 22 March Ioannis Varvitsiotis, Greek Minister of National Defense, and Valentin Aleksandrov, Bulgarian minister of defense, gave a news conference, at which it was noted that relations between the Bulgarian and Greek Armed Forces are developing in a positive direction in support of the security of the two countries and the region as a whole.

A few moments ago the Greek minister departed from Sofia Airport.

Berov Defends Rakovski Officers' Legion

AU1903151093 Sofia BTA in English 1327 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—Under the statutes by which it was registered in court, the Rakovski Officers' Legion is a professional, volunteer, non-partisan and independent organization of members of the Bulgarian

Armed Forces. It operates in peace-time only in compliance with this country's Constitution and laws. Its major purpose is to rally the Bulgarian Army in defence of the national ideals and national security and to protect the professional and social economic interests of its members. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov today cited this text of the legion's statutes when answering an interpellation by Mr. Georgi Panev M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) concerning the statutes and tasks of the Rakovski Officers' Legion.

Mr. Panev's interpellation was prompted by the declaration of the Rakovski Legion aired in the central news cast of the Bulgarian National Television on March 7. It was pointed out in this declaration that, on the occasion of May 6th, the Day of Valour and the Bulgarian Army, the legion has undertaken to assist the other law enforcement units in securing social order and preventing possible profanations of national symbols, which is one of the duty of the Bulgarian Army. The legion released this declaration in connection with an incident during the March 3rd ceremonial tattoo on the occasion of the 115th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Turkish domination attended by representative units of the Bulgarian Army and cabinet ministers. During the tattoo, members of the public, who had taken part in the rally held earlier by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), booed the attending officials and chanted "Resignation," "Down with", and "Red scum."

The declaration does not [word indistinct] the soldier's oath and the regulations of the Bulgarian Armed Forces and the Rakovski Officers' Legion, Prof. Berov said.

According to the prime minister, the legion's intentions do not contradict the operative Bulgarian Constitution and laws. They are in defence of national security and the interests of this country, he said.

Prof. Berov asked the M.P.'s not to qualify the content of the declaration as a crime since it does not contravene a single clause of the effective Penal Code.

The Army should never be used to crush internal unrest, which is the duty of police forces, the SDS floor leader Mr. Stefan Savov said after Prime Minister Berov's statement. In his opinion, the prime minister was instigating part of the Army against the civil population.

Zhelev Receives NATO Admiral Woodhead

AU1903130893 Sofia BTA in English 2107 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received Vice Admiral Peter Woodhead, NATO's Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, who arrived on a visit to Bulgaria three days ago.

Vice Admiral Peter Woodhead declared the full support of NATO's leadership for Bulgaria's policy pursued with regard to the Balkans and the events in ex-Yugoslavia, the national security adviser to the president, General Stoyan Andreev, said after the meeting.

Today Vice Admiral Peter Woodhead had a meeting with the Military Office of the president and visited the Georgi Sava Rakovski Military Academy where he had talks with its management.

Berov Answers Question on Border With Greece

AU1903151793 Sofia BTA in English 1107 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—The problem of setting up new checkpoints on the Bulgarian-Greek border was raised at the talks with Greece's Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis during his official visit to Bulgaria on March 11-12, Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov said in parliament replying the question posed by an M.P. for the Union of Democratic Forces.

We managed to overcome the general restraint as to the opening of new border checkpoints, the Greek side gave its consent to proceed with the making of arrangements for setting up a checkpoint at port Alexandropolis immediately, Prof. Berov went on to say. It was agreed to begin technical explorations for the construction of a double railway line to Alexandropolis as an extension of the Bulgarian railway, as well as to extend the highway running in parallel to it, the prime minister said.

In the last two years the municipal councils and the population in the border areas have sent official letters and petitions to the Bulgarian Parliament and government insisting that the problem be posed to the Greek side and resolved, Prof. Berov said. Now the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a primary task: To hold negotiations on the opening of three new border checkpoints: Gotse Delchev-Drama, Kurdzhali-Komotene and Rudozem-Xanthe, he said.

Bulgaria has raised the question of opening the three checkpoints at all levels of bilateral talks but the Greek side has reservations, Prof. Berov explained. He familiarized parliament with the motives set out by Greece: The presence of compact Muslim population on either side of the border which, if the regulations are relaxed, could destabilize the some regions in Northern Greece, difficulties in controlling foreigners' entry in the single market space of the European Community, border security considerations, shortage of funds to complete the extension of transport connections in Greek territory.

Until 1944 there were checkpoints and transport connections between Gotse Delchev and Drama and between Rudozem and Xanthe, Prof. Berov reminded.

Four People Killed in Industrial Accident

AU1903151493 Sofia BTA in English 1211 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—Four people were killed in a grave industrial accident at the Dunarit Company

near Ruse (on the Danube) this morning. The company is part of the military industrial complex. The explosion occurred at a warehouse while handling the explosive substance nitropenta used by the enterprise in the manufacture of detonating fuses.

Many people were injured in the accident and were sent to hospital, the BTA local correspodent reported. The Civil Defense reports that eight people have been seriously wounded.

According to eyewitnesses' accounts, the warehouse has been completely wiped out and there is an enormous hole in its place. The windows of nearby buildings got broken, the other storage facilities and workshops in the vicinity were severely damaged by the shock wave. All the communication and security systems were disrupted. The enterprise will not be able to operate for some time. Broken windows were reported from two neighbouring villages.

Specialized teams of the local civil and military hospitals, the police, the fire department and the Civil Defense Corps immediately arrived at the place of the accident, representatives of the regional and municipal authorities, the Prosecutor's Office and of the Investigation Service also hurried there. The area is blocked.

A press release circulated by the Civil Defense Corps reports that the explosion was felt in Ruse, too. The windows of several tall buildings at more than 7 km away from the enterprise broke.

Bosevski Inspects Accident Site

AU1903200093 Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Ruse, march 19 (BTA) - Five people were killed in a heavy industrial accident at the Dunarit Company near this Danubian city this morning. The company, which is part of the military industrial complex, is located out of town. A warehouse was blown up by a strong explosive substance, nitropenta, used in the manufacture of detonating fuses. [passage omitted]

Later today the Civil Defense reported that eight tonnes of an explosive substance loaded on two trucks exploded as a result of a crash. This explosion detonated 60 more tonnes of the same substance - nitropenta which is a strong fragmentation substance.

Environment Minister Veselin Bosevski, who is in Ruse in connection with the environment problems experienced by this city, arrived on the spot of the accident. He said that he would remain in order to help. According to him, the effect of the explosion on the environment is of a purely of a detonative nature - it destroyed trees but there is no danger of contamination.

Groups of experts of the ministries of the interior and of industry are expected to arrive by helicopter from sofia on the site of the accident.

Cabinet Decides on Promoting Privatization

AU2003171193 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—At its extraordinary session today on the progress and problems of privatization the cabinet decided to move in the National Assembly with the shortest possible delay amendments and addenda to the privatization act.

The decision adopted by the cabinet today points out that the cabinet deems it expedient to use all privatization mechanisms such as broad participation of the employees of the respective enterprises, attraction of management teams and the direct participation of bank and financial institutions in privatization. It is also necessary to create all preconditions for attracting leaseholders of the respective units.

The cabinet committed itself to approve with the shortest possible delay measures for attracting foreign investors in privatization.

The cabinet is dissatisfied with the work of the leadership of the Privatization Agency with the Council of Ministers and the branch ministries in privatization and set the Privatization Agency a term of ten days to reconsider its privatization programme bringing it in line with the macroeconomical framework of the 1993 draft budget. The results of the implementation of this programme will be reported every month at special sessions of the cabinet.

The Council of Ministers assigned the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of economic affairs, Mr. Valentin Karabashev, to set up a working group of representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the branch ministries, the Privatization Agency and the Central Bank to elaborate a mechanism for the transformation of the bad credits of some enterprises subject to privatization into public debt as well as mechanisms for the issuing of convertible bonds and for the participation of commercial banks in privatization.

The session of the cabinet was also attended by the leadership and the Supervisory Board of the Privatization Agency, representatives of the banking circles, of the stock exchange, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Economic Committee, Mr. Asen Michkovski, and M.P.'s. According to all participants, there are numerous possibilities for privatization but they are not being realized. According to National Bank Deputy Governor Emil Khursev, the banks which have credited the enterprises subject to privatization should be given priority so that they can restore these credits. He expressed certain pessimism as regards the cabinet's decision to transform a part of the bad credits into public debt. This was already done last year and according to Industry Minister Rumen Bikov, was a one-time act.

The Supervisory Board of the Privatization Agency held a brief meeting after the cabinet session to discuss the issues raised by the Council of Ministers. The board will

come out with a final stand on Thursday after its regular session. The cabinet ministers did not discuss a possible replacement of the Executive Director of the Privatization Agency, Mr. Aleksandur Bozhkov. Reports of such intentions appeared recently in the press.

According to deputy Prime Minister Karabashev, the already appraised enterprises will not be subjected to reappraisal despite the high inflation rate (about 12 percent in the first months of 1993). But he did not rule out the possibility of changing the formula used in appraising the enterprises' basic capital.

Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet proclaimed itself a cabinet of privatization when it was elected in late December last year. Socialist M.P.'s have repeatedly stated that their support for this cabinet will depend on the progress of privatization. Only one privatization deal has been concluded at the tenders organized by the Ministry of Trade so far.

Contract for Fuel Signed With Russia

AU1903201093 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 93 p 2

[Staff report: "Contract With Russia Ensures Fuel for Kozloduy"]

[Text] DEMOKRATSIYA has learned that the National Electricity Company has signed a framework five-year contract with Russia on supplying fresh fuel for the reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

According to the contract, the payments will begin one month after the actual supply begins and will continue for one year. The contract excludes the condition initially posed by Russia, on paying in advance, and therefore the National Electricity Company experts consider it a favorable contract from a financial point of view.

The experts express regret at the fact that the Bulgarian proposal to pay a part of the price with our industrial goods has been rejected. The Russian side insisted on payment with hard currency for the fresh fuel for the Kozloduy reactors.

The contract guarantees the supply for five years. However, each separate deal will be preceded by specific negotiations on the quantity and price of the fuel, Bozhan Siromakhov of the National electricity Company said to DEMOKRATSIYA. The first supply of fresh fuel for Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's small reactors is expected in April.

Rally Protests Nuclear Power Plant Project

AU1903202693 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] A protest rally against plans to resume the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant was held this afternoon in Svishtov, at the initiative of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association, our correspondent Katya Chorova reports.

Members of parliament Luchezar Toshev, Edvin Sugarev, and Svobodka Stefanova declared their conviction that as long as so many people come together for rallies in the Svishtov squares, no one would dare to build a second nuclear power plant.

According to Ms. Stefanova, the fact that the referendum of the Svishtov Municipality scheduled for Saturday [20 March] was called off shows that the authorities are afraid of the people's vote. If the citizens of Svishtov are not allowed to express their opinions about the future of the second nuclear plant by referendum, Ms. Stefanova intends to propose that the Parliamentary Ecological Commission should initiate a nationwide referendum on the issue.

Telegrams from all over the country in support of the request to halt the construction of the second nuclear power plant in our country were read at the rally.

The participants in the rally adopted a declaration to the government, the National Assembly, and the president in which the criminal plans of building the Belene nuclear power plant should be denounced. The declaration insists on the right of Svishtov citizens to hold a referendum and on holding those responsible who have adopted the decision of building a nuclear power plant in Belene.

Bulgarian-Turkish Economic Association Created

AU1903191093 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA) - An agreement for the setting up of a Bulgarian-Turkish Association was signed in Sofia today by the chairmen of the cooperative unions in Burgas, Kurdzhali, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Khaskovo and Yambol, and a group of Turkish companies, represented by Platin Deri [spelling of names as received] Ltd. and the Bulgarian-Turkish Joint Venture Ermosa Inc.

The association will develop the following lines of business: Purchase, processing and trade in farm products, trade in industrial and consumer goods, building and operation of production facilities, tourism, and other activities permitted under the commercial code.

The association will have an office in Stara Zagora (Central Bulgaria). It will launch organized exchange between Bulgarian and Turkish cooperatives.

"I am convinced the association stands a chance to strengthen bilateral contacts between cooperatives, the result of which will become obvious in April," Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, told the press. "It will create new jobs," Mr. Dogan added. According to him, Bulgarian retailers buy Turkish goods of the poorest quality but the association will help to get black marketeering under control.

Commentary Assesses Results of Mitsotakis Visit

AU1903202093 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 93 p 6

[Mariyana Boyadzhieva commentary: "Spring Promises Positive Developments in Bulgarian-Greek Relations"]

[Text] One month ago in an interview Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis puzzled reporters by saying that recently there has been a certain stagnation in Bulgarian-Greek relations. He came to Sofia with the intention and willingness to explain that a process of warming relations has already begun. After his first working meeting with President Zhelev, Mitsotakis said that if there is any ice, it has already begun to melt. For his part, the Bulgarian president explained that the clouds, that in recent years hovered over traditionally good Bulgarian-Greek relations, have begun to disperse.

The first results of the 27-hour visit of the Greek prime minister inspire a certain hope for a beautiful spring. The signing of the agreement on mutually encouraging and protecting investments will be followed by specific developments. The transportation agreement between the two countries, signed 20 years ago, must be updated. Setting new border checkpoints in the area of the Rhodope Mountains, something always mentioned at every high-level meeting between governmental and state leaders of the two countries in recent years, will facilitate contacts between the citizens of the two countries. The two countries will alleviate the current visa regime and seek possibilities for seasonal employment of Bulgarian citizens in Greece. It is not a secret that now obtaining visa for Greece is a rather awkward process even for people who have relatives in that country. The fact that there are many violations by Bulgarian citizens of Greece's border and laws is another matter.

In recent years the traditionally good Bulgarian-Greek relations have stagnated. This is a result of certain Bulgarian and Greek diplomatic moves and certain hasty steps by politicians. After the recent visit by Mr. Mitsotakis to Sofia this page in the history of bilateral contacts has apparently been closed forever. The issue of recognizing Macedonia is no longer a bone of contention in relations between the two countries.

Certain commentators tried to connect Mitsotakis' visit to Bulgaria with the simultaneous visit of the Turkish defense minister and even recalled that a few weeks ago the visits to Bulgaria of Greek Foreign Minister Papakonstandinou and Turkish President Ozal almost coincided. Sofia again demonstrated that a policy of alliances in the Balkans has no future and that no country in the region can dominate and dictate conditions. The Bulgarian and Greek sides clearly understood that bilateral relations must be constructed as a goal in itself, rather than as a factor aimed against third countries.

Government Issues Statement on Russian Crisis

AU2203142093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] At its meeting on 22 March the Bulgarian Government adopted a statement in which it expresses concern regarding the political and constitutional crisis in the Russian Federation. The conviction was expressed that, I quote, rapidly overcoming the crisis will strengthen and consolidate the course of sociopolitical reforms adopted by the Russian president. This course enjoys the active support of the Russian Government and the Russian democratic public.

The Bulgarian Government expresses the opinion that only by continuing the democratic processes and the radical economic reforms will it possible to prevent the return to practices rejected by history.

In its declaration the Bulgarian Government expresses the sincere hope that wisdom and political prudence will be demonstrated by all on whom Russia's fate and world peace depend.

This text was issued a short while ago in the Press Center of the Bulgarian Government by government spokesman Raycho Raykov.

Government Freezes Slovak Shares in Czech Companies

AU1903152293 Prague CTK in English 2138 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)— The Czech Government today amended a former Federal Ministry of Finance regulation, allowing the government now to postpone deciding on a new commencement date for issuing Czech company shares purchased by Slovak citizens in the first wave of coupon privatization last year.

Between March 29 and May 31, Slovak citizens and privatization investment funds would have been able to withdraw their investments in the form of stock certificates, making them the actual owners of the shares they purchased. The effect of the Czech Government's decision is to suspend the commencement date for issuing shares indefinitely.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus would not confirm whether the government's decision was connected with the Czech Republic's desire to receive compensation for the property that the share issue will transfer from the Czech to the Slovak Republic. Slovaks invested 19 billion crowns (633 million USD) more in the Czech Republic than Czechs in Slovakia. Klaus also refused to disclose whether the Czech Government is considering compensating Czech investors for losses in case of a similar action by the Slovak Government. He justified the Czech decision by saying that it was only a first step, and now everything depends on the Slovak position.

Left Block parliamentary deputy Josef Hajek said the Left Block supports the Czech Government's action and considers it economically reasonable and politically nonconfrontational. I understand the government's decision as a way of calling the Slovaks to constructive talks on property issues at the highest level, Hajek said.

Civic Democratic Alliance Deputy Ivan Masek said his party views the action as necessary but slightly problematic at present. If it had been done earlier, when the ODA first suggested, it would not have been so problematic, he said.

Jozef Wagner of the Czech Social Democratic Party said the action is a violation of democratic rights. Property rights cross state boundaries, he said, and as soon as some countries stop observing some rights, in this case property, they stop observing democratic rights.

Deputy Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Pavel Tollner, of the Christian Democratic Party, praised the suspension of issuing shares. The Czech Government's self-restraint in the case of property settlement is appropriate, he said.

Klaus Rejects Slovak Protest

LD1903152493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Today, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus rejected the Slovak Government's stance regarding the decision of his cabinet temporarily to suspend the transfer to Slovak investors of shares in Czech companies obtained in the first wave of coupon privatization. In a statement for CTK he says that statements by Slovak politicians that law has been violated and Slovak citizens discriminated against, as well as threats about starting a trade war, are an inappropriate exacerbation of mutual relations and confuse the public. The Czech side has deprived Slovak citizens of nothing and has in no way questioned their claims. It has merely suspended the transfer of Czech property to Slovak subjects because of the current attitude of the Slovak side to the solving of issues related to the division of federal property, Prime Minister Klaus notes.

The Czech Government has no interest in continuing this situation. It has been and still is ready to discuss and resolve all disputed issues immediately and in their entirety. It is ready to conclude the necessary agreements as soon as possible so that none of the parties will be harmed, Vaclav Klaus notes in the conclusion of his statement.

Havel on Share Suspension

LD2103151493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by editor Petr Stiegler, at Lany presidential residence; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted: introduction]

[Stiegler] All representatives of the Czech Republic made it, in my view, totally clear that they wanted to keep the best relations with the Slovak Republic. However, how do you proceed in order to force a good neighbor to embark on talks about a not-exactly-small debt?

[Havel] In my view the decision made by the [Czech] government on Wednesday has become the issue of the week. I think that it was not really properly understood. The government's decision does not mean anything else than that the government has postponed the issue of shares, for a rather short period, for the time being. This decision concerns all the coupon holders—not just Slovak ones. This decision has an administrative character, it does not concern property claims by anybody. Nevertheless, at the same time, the government made it clear that this step was to a certain degree linked to the talks with the Slovak Government, which have been dragging on, about certain outstanding debts. [passage omitted]

However, this affair is not as dramatic as one might think, reading all our papers and comments.

We will be neighbors with the Slovak Republic for long decades. We have to attempt to build as good relations as possible. I believe we will succeed in this. [passage omitted]

[Stiegler] Speaking about Slovakia, we should point out the fact that in 10 days' time, you will hold talks with Slovak President Michal Kovac.

[Havel] Yes, as he promised, President Kovac will come to Prague for his first state visit. This is what we agreed on.

Though it is natural that in talks with him we will not avoid those topical issues, such as division of coupon privatization and the setting up of the [Czech-Slovak] border, I would not like—in the same way as in the case of Austria—to restrict this visit on a presidential level to those issues concerning the executive power, which should be the task of everyday talks of ministers, various commissions, and governments. Kovac's visit should be directed more at the long-term prospects of our life besides each other and together in central Europe. [passage omitted]

Dyba: Issue of Shares to Czechs Not Delayed

AU1903154193 Prague CTK in English 2148 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)— Today's decision by the Czech Government to suspend indefinitely the issue of stocks to Slovak investors in the first wave of coupon privatization does not necessarily mean a delay in their issue to Czech investors, Czech Minister of Economics Karel Dyba told CTK today.

He said the decision gives a strong indication of the government's interest in concluding an agreement with the Slovak Government to settle outstanding property issues between the Czech and Slovak Republics. He added that it is necessary to view the decision in the context of the entire property division question arising from the split of the Czechoslovak Federation December 31, 1992.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today that if an agreement with Slovakia is signed, it will not be necessary to delay the issue of shares.

Press Detects New Signs of Havel-Cabinet Disagreements

AU1903140093 Prague CTK in English 0813 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Prague March 17 (CTK)— Today's Czech dailies focus on Wednesday's [17 March] session of the Czech Government, which decided to postpone the distribution of Czech shares gained by Slovaks in the first wave of coupon privatization which was originally scheduled to begin March 29, and on Czech President Vaclav Havel's two-day visit to Austria at the beginning of the week.

The director of the Center for Coupon Privatization Jaroslav Lizner says in MLADA FRONTA DNES that the government's decision to freeze stocks for holders of investment coupons will delay the launch of the securities center, which will transfer notes to coupon privatization investors, on the basis of which they will become actual shareholders.

Czech Minister of Economics Karel Dyba, however, said that the government's decision will not slow the privatization process. According to Dyba, the Czech National Property Fund should resolve the problem of enterprises which have already called general meetings of their new owners for after March 29, writes the paper.

RUDE PRAVO writes that President Havel during his visit to Austria, presented the Czech Government with a finished matter when he announced that he personally considers the postwar expulsion of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia to be unjust.

Havel's address in Vienna might have created the impression that his own opinion and that of the Government are unsteady, causing the cabinet to lose some of its authority in foreign policy matters. The fact that Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec did not take part in the trip to Vienna, however, may have been intended to show that the cabinet did not want to carry the responsibility for everything that the president might say there. In hindsight the government did the right thing, writes RUDE PRAVO.

CESKY DENIK writes that the fact that Zieleniec did not travel to Vienna with Havel is one of the first signs of disagreement with the president, who said he supported the policies of the government coalition in his speech to parliament, but in the same breath detailed his criticisms from the traditional left-wing intellectual position.

The slightly humiliating regular meetings of the president with individual ministers to discuss problems in their ministries and the very course of these presidential audiences suggest that the majority of the cabinet members leave the president's office with the feeling that they have wasted their time, writes CESKY DENIK.

From the standpoint of protocol, writes MLADA FRONTA DNES, it seems rather unusual that the foreign minister did not accompany the president on this trip to an important neighboring country. [passage omitted]

Klaus Defends Temelin Decision, Criticizes Austria

AU1903143993 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Mar 93 p 14

["Exclusive" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Karl-Peter Schwarz; place and date not given: "The Austrian Reaction Was Not Adequate"]

[Text] [Schwarz] Mr. Prime Minister, the Austrian chancellor assumes that there is "still leeway" for the Czech Government to revise its decision on Temelin. There is

also an expert report by the World Bank, which recommends the transformation into a gas-fired power station. Does the Czech Government intend to reconsider its standpoint?

[Klaus] The Government of the Czech Republic decided in favor of completing the Temelin nuclear power plant after a very thorough and extensive analysis of the entire problem. This analysis was based on the assessment of the development of electricity consumption in our country in the medium and long term, on the investigation of the technical and safety aspects, which were carried out by Czech and renowned foreign institutions, and on expert reports on the financial dimensions of the entire project.

An expert report by the World Bank against the completion of the Temelin nuclear power station, as you say, does not exist at all. There is only one mention of the entire project in the World Bank aide memoire, which refers to financing ecological measures for the operation of the Czech coal-fired power stations. Thus, this is not an expert report on the problem of the Temelin power station nor is it a study that analyzes any Czech nuclear power station from the viewpoint of safety or operability.

The World Bank has already reacted to the fact that a sentence from its aide memoire has been taken as a categorical rejection of the Temelin project. It has expressly denied such an interpretation.

All the above-mentioned documents, including the economic analysis of the project and the guarantee by Westinghouse that the Temelin nuclear power station will correspond to U.S. safety standards when permission for its operation is given, gives the Czech Government the right to decide in favor of completion.

[Schwarz] Many Austrians get the impression that their reservations on safety are simply not being taken seriously. Seven years after the Chernobyl disaster, a nuclear power station is being built close to the Austrian border based on obsolete Soviet technology and is now supposed to be completed with Western technology. This has never been done before, and Western and Russian nuclear experts think that it is a risky experiment.

[Klaus] The Czech Government is as concerned about the safety of the citizens of the Czech Republic and its neighboring countries as the Austrian Government and the ecological citizens' initiatives.

The Russian technology that is being used in the Temelin project has absolutely nothing to do with the technology used in the Chernobyl station. In Temelin, VVER 1000 pressure-water reactors are used, of which there are 18 in operation all over the world; their design is similar to the reactors that are usually used in Western nuclear power stations.

Supplementing Russian nuclear technology with the safety system and the fuel supply of Westinghouse is certainly not an unproved experiment. The nuclear power station in Lovisa, Finland, is based on similar principles, and it works safely. As a result of the postive experiences with its operation, the Finnish Government has decided to build another such nuclear power station.

[Schwarz] Is the Czech Government willing to give Austria access to all documents referring to the method of construction and the safety of the nuclear power station?

[Klaus] The Czech Government proceeds from the premise of Austria's natural interest in protecting the safety of its citizens and is guided by the same interest. Therefore, it has given priority to the safety of the construction and the technology of the Temelin nuclear power station.

The condition for granting the permit for operation is the fulfillment of international safety standards, which correspond to Austrian and Czech safety requirements.

[Schwarz] Austria's objections to nuclear energy are a question of principle, but they are also based on economic arguments. What will the completion of Temelin cost and what would the transformation into a gas-fired power station cost?

[Klaus] The overall costs for the completion of the Temelin nuclear power station will amount to 43 billion Czech korunas.

The costs for the immediate cessation of the project would be as high as 45 to 53 billion korunas, because it would be necessary to repay the loans, to cover the losses of the suppliers, to write off the money already invested, and to pay no less than 2 billion korunas per year for dismantling it over the next four years.

The transformation of the nuclear power station into a gas-fired power station would require extremely high investments. The investment costs for the nuclear power station project amount to about $430 per kilowatt, two-thirds of which have already been covered. The costs for the gas-heat cycle would amount to about $520 per kilowatt.

In this respect, one also has to keep the strategic context regarding securing gas deliveries into consideration, which would further increase the dependence of the Czech Republic on eastern sources and all the resulting risks.

[Schwarz] How is this to be financed? Do you need a World Bank loan?

[Klaus] The Temelin project will be primarily financed with money from the Czech energy corporation as well as with domestic and foreign loans. Financing by the World Bank is not being considered.

[Schwarz] In the controversy over Temelin harsh words have been used on both sides. You yourself called Austrian arguments "nonsense" and rejected "interference in domestic affairs." However, a potential reactor accident would affect not only the Czech people but also the Austrians.

[Klaus] The Austrian reaction to the decision on Temelin by the Czech Government, which is the government of a sovereign state and is trying to have as good relations as possible with Austria, was certainly not adequate and did not correspond to the declared intention to strive for goodneighborly relations.

This explains my outraged reaction to statements that talked about sanctions or about plans to make the World Bank take steps against the Czech Republic. Taking into consideration that the World Bank is not involved in any way in this project, I said that such statements are nonsense.

A potential accident in a nuclear reactor, just as in any other nuclear storage site, of which there are many in Europe and in particular in Austria's immediate neighborhood, would certainly threaten the citizens of the entire continent to a greater or lesser degree.

However, in my view, while the Czech Government has the right to trust the competence of its foreign partners to make decisions, it does not have the right to go as far as to threaten sanctions or retaliation by international institutions if similar cases happen with other European states.

Therefore, I would welcome it if the same principles of trust and mutual respect also obtained in Austria's relations with us.

EC Commissioner Says Human Rights Clause Mandatory

LD1903155993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] EC Commissioner Hans van der Broek today acquainted Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec with the official EC stance that demands the inclusion of a clause on human rights in all newly concluded association agreements. At the same time he explained that in no case should Prague understand the inclusion of this clause in the sense that the EC doubts the quality of human rights in the Czech Republic. The association agreement with the Czech Republic should, according to Hans van der Broek, be concluded soon.

Zieleniec Disagrees

LD1903174093 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 19 (CTK)—After being informed today by European Community (EC) official Hans Van den Broek of the official EC decision to include a clause on human rights observance in all new association agreements, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told journalists that he sees no reason to include the clause in the Czech Republic's agreement.

Van den Broek, EC commissioner for external political relations, said that he emphasised to Zieleniec that the inclusion of this clause in no case means that the EC doubts the quality of human rights in the Czech Republic.

Zieleniec, however, noted that this is an important matter, despite the fact that Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus considers the clause to be merely a technical problem. Klaus expressed this view last week after meeting with EC Commissioner Leon Brittan.

The clause would allow the association agreement to be terminated if human rights are violated by one of the parties. The EC Commission decided at the end of last year that all new agreements will include the clause. The association agreement with the former Czechoslovakia, signed in December 1991, did not contain the clause.

The Czech Republic's association agreement should be concluded soon after talks begin sometime in April, Van den Broek said.

Van den Broek postponed his planned visits to other eastern European countries, including Slovakia, for organisational reasons. There are absolutely no political reasons behind it, he said, and added that he plans to visit Slovakia as soon as possible.

Criminal Proceedings Against Moravian 'Government'

AU1903130793 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)— Czech General Prosecutor Jiri Setina ordered today that criminal proceedings be launched March 18 against an unnamed person in connection with Tuesday's [16 March] report on the establishment of a Moravian-Silesian Land Government.

Setina considers the report, carried by Czech dailies today, to be false and alarming, causing serious concern among at least part of the public.

The general prosecutor's statement says that the information about the unregistered Moravian-Silesian Assembly (MSA) appointing at its session in Brno Tuesday a Moravian-Silesian Land Government is serious, and that the charge of criminal offense of spreading alarming reports is justified.

Vaclav Kobliha, former Czechoslovak federal deputy from the ultra-right Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), informed journalists in Brno, South Moravia, Tuesday that the MSA had approved a five-member Moravian-Silesian Government. Kobliha was named its head.

CTK was informed of Setina's order by Libor Grygarek of the General Prosecutor's Office today.

The MSA, which was founded in November 1992, is seeking autonomy for Moravia and Silesia, the eastern part of the Czech Republic.

Meanwhile, the Czech parliamentary Committee for Petitions, Human Rights and Ethnic Minorities discussed today without any concrete results the principles of a draft constitutional law, submitted by deputies from the SPR-RSC, on establishing the Moravian-Silesian Land.

A majority of the committee's members agreed with the need to revive the historical lands of Moravia and Silesia, but criticized the submitted principles as lacking any concept. They were also critical of the formation of the Moravian-Silesian Land Government. Jiri Drapela from the Liberal Social Union (LSU) said its appointment was the consequence of not solving the Moravian problem in the Czech parliament.

[Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech on 18 March on page 2 carries a 200-word interview with General Prosecutor Jiri Setina. In the interview, which was conducted on 17 March, Setina clarifies that "the criminal proceedings do not concern the information media but the act of the formation of the so-called Moravian-Silesian Government itself. Proceedings against an information medium could only be launched if it deliberately spread a report that was not true, which does not apply in this case."]

Klaus Says Visegrad Group is 'Artificial'

LD2203113193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] In an interview for the German weekly FOCUS, [Czech Prime Minister] Vaclav Klaus said he envisages an early admission of the Czech Republic into the EC. He emphasized that the political and economic system in the Czech Republic is already at the level of the Western democracies.

He described the Visegrad Group as an artificial formation without natural roots. According to Vaclav Klaus, the Czech Republic intends to cooperate with Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary in the same way as with other neighbors.

Coalition Parties Not To Broaden Government

LD2203142893 Prague CTK in English 1358 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—The deputy chairmen of the Czech Government coalition parties agreed today that they would not strive for the extension of the government, Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak announced.

This agreement between the ODS, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak Peoples Party (KDU-CSL) deputy chairmen will be submitted for consideration to the leaderships of their parties.

According to the agreement, the position of another deputy premier, which was required by the KDS, will be not established.

As far as other posts in the state administration are concerned, the representatives of the government coalition found, according to KDS Deputy Chairman Miroslav Tyl, a solution acceptable to all the government parties.

ODA Deputy Chairman Karel Ledvinka said that the deputy chairman of the government parties had agreed on the persons to be appointed the army inspector-general, director of the Czech Statistical Office, and the director of the Security and Intelligence Service (SIS).

The position of the president of the Supreme Inspection Office (SIO) will be dealt with only after the law on the SIO is passed. The position of the director of the material reserves administration, required by the KDU-CSL, also remains vacant.

The government coalition parties deputy chairmen were to meet again on March 25 to establish whether todays decision was feasible, said Cermak.

According to unofficial information, the SIS provisional Director Stanislav Devaty (ODS), is very likely to be appointed the SIS director. Cermak said today that the ODS would be very delighted if Devaty became the stable director of counterintelligence.

According to one of the government coalition parties deputy chairmen the name of the candidate for the position of the Army inspector-general will be a great surprise.

The KDU-CSL did not raise any claims to state administration posts.

President Dismisses Knazko as Foreign Minister

LD1903145393 Prague CTK in English 1323 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava March 19 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac informed Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko of his dismissal at Bratislava Castle shortly before 2:00 p.m. today.

Knazko's dismissal comes as a result of his protracted dispute with Slovak Premier and Chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar, which broke out at the end of January when Meciar accused Knazko of breaking party discipline for encouraging members of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) not to vote for the HZDS candidate (at that time Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac) in the first round of voting for Slovak president.

At an extraordinary session of the HZDS leadership on February 6, Meciar called on Knazko to resign his post as foreign minister. Slovak President Michal Kovac received Meciar's proposal to dismiss Knazko on March 9.

On March 10, however, Kovac said that as law experts were not united on whether the president had the right or duty to dismiss a minister on the premier's proposal, he was transferring the matter to the Constitutional Court.

On March 13, Meciar said at a session of his ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) that Knazko as foreign minister was putting himself against the interests of the HZDS and was responsible for a foreign policy which did not serve the interests of Slovakia. He accused Knazko of painting a false portrait of Slovakia abroad.

At a press conference on March 15, Knazko rejected the criticism by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar as vague, and characterised his conflict with Meciar as personal and not a political one. He said he did not intend to leave the post of foreign minister due to the absence of concrete arguments against the quality of the work of his ministry. I want to know when, how and where I acted against Slovakia's interests abroad as claimed by the premier, Knazko said. [passage omitted]

Kovac Justifies Decision

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[Interview with President Michal Kovac by unidentified correspondent in Bratislava on 19 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. President, on Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's proposal you decided to recall Milan Knazko from the post of deputy prime minister and foreign minister today. Why?

[Kovac] [Passage omitted] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar pointed out that if his proposal to recall Milan Knazko was not accepted, he would himself resign from his post and would not accept my authorization to form a new Slovak Government. Assessing the situation as it has emerged, it is practically impossible to form, if need be, a new government of the Slovak Republic without the chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and deputies who support the HZDS chairman. The failure to accept Prime Minister Meciar's proposal would have led to a permanent government and, subsequently, political crisis. This would then make it necessary to call new elections. This would be a very dangerous and damaging development for Slovakia. Therefore, I cannot take into account my personal popularity, and I have to act as one of the high constitutional officials in a responsible way—that is, in a way to provide that the government functions also as far as its foreign policy is concerned. Prolonging the existing state of affairs causes serious damage to our interests in the world.

[Correspondent] However, your decision preceded a decision by the Slovak Constitutional Court.

[Kovac] [Passage omitted] I came to the conclusion that the time spent waiting for that decision—which I cannot expect earlier than in two or three weeks—would not help calm the situation; on the contrary, it would contribute to a further escalation of the tension and to the prime minister's resignation, as well as the resignation of the entire government. This would create a situation which I personally do not wish to divulge, as it is dangerous and would postpone the tackling of our economic problems. My duty was to move quickly.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what was behind your decision? Do you think that you prevented a government crisis?

[Kovac] I would be glad if our public accepts my decision as a pragmatic solution, which will calm down our political life. I would be glad if individual politicians and political parties and movements turn their attention to constructive actions and will not harm our people's activities and work by fruitless arguments and conflicts. Neither should the opposition submit to the lure of new elections. It should exclude from their politics the egoistic attitude of the type the worst for them the better for us. It is a short-sighted approach. I would appreciate very much if our entire political scene focuses on looking for a method and ways of how to improve the state of our economy and how to halt the decline of our citizens' living standards.

[Correspondent] You obviously arrived at your decision today during your meeting with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Did you meet outgoing Foreign Minister Knazko?

[Kovac] Yes, I did meet him. I invited Mr. Knazko to meet me, as I wanted to hand the decree on his dismissal over to him personally. [passage omitted]

I gladly acknowledged the fact that he intends to continue to be active in our political life, both as a deputy and as an HZDS representative. [passage omitted]

We have parted good friends, I hope.

Knazko Defends Ministry's Work

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[Speech by Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko to the 17th session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 19 March—recorded]

[Text] Dear and esteemed colleagues, I regard as my duty—the duty of a foreign minister—to inform you about the ways in which the ministry that I still head fulfills the government policy statement and about the problems it is encountering in connection with new tasks related to the rise of an independent state.

I wanted to report this to your plenary session earlier. Unfortunately, I was not given an opportunity. Because too much has been said of late in connection with the ministry I am heading, I decided to inform you briefly, and in a matter-of-fact manner, about issues of paramount importance.

One of the most important foreign policy tasks of the Slovak Republic Government was to ensure proliferation of objective information about development in Slovakia. Until the end of 1992, there was a lot of information about Slovakia in connection with the division of the federation. This information was not always objective, however. It was only after 1 January 1993 that Slovakia became fully responsible for fulfilling this task. As early as today, less than three months later, we are being reproached for not having done enough. If we speak about long-term foreign policy tasks, then this task is one of the most long-standing ones.

What, in specific terms, has the ministry done? Immediately after the latest federal government took office, we began to implement a large-scale information campaign financed from the funds of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its main objective was to provide information about the true causes and the progress of Czechoslovakia's split, as well as about the newly rising Slovak Republic.

In cooperation with the Slovak Republic Ministry of Agriculture, the directorate general of the Water Construction Company, and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we ensured that the 6 million koruna earmarked for publicity for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroprojects were efficiently used. I could go on for some time listing specific measures. That is not the objective of my speech, however.

We have to realize that the creation of Slovakia's image is, above all, a long-term matter that is measured in years. The very word, image, shows that it is a reflection of the reality inside the country. No matter how active and financially backed the work of one ministry is in creating a country's image abroad, it cannot remove the negative consequences of ill thought-out and imprudent steps.

Where a region's behavior can be excused, a sovereign state's cannot be, and this is even less so when the state has just emerged, and other countries are closely watching its every step. Even the new Slovak diplomats, who were leaving for foreign states a short while ago full of enthusiasm and determination to put Slovakia's unfavorable image right through their work, have turned to us to help, first and foremost, by maintaining standards of civil political behavior at home.

I have heard criticism from some deputies that we have done too little in the matter of Gabcikovo. In other words, it seems the international community has adopted the Hungarian view of the dispute. Let me say a few words on this. We cannot talk about mistakes made by Slovak diplomacy in this affair. Since 1 January, we have independently attended several bilateral and multilateral talks. We have achieved a mutually balanced agreement on the text of a document that is to be submitted to the Hague. Diplomatic skills can hardly help in the issue of water flow. That is a matter, above all, for the specialist ministries. The alleged tendency by international public opinion to back the Hungarian view is debatable. We have had enough signals showing that the world wishes to view the problem through the facts and to move away from making it into a political issue. This alone could be considered a success, which would have paid off later on. The Gabcikovo affair is one of the specific indicators that the work of the Foreign Ministry simply cannot be statistically quantified.

The policy statement attached great emphasis to the development of mutual relations, especially as regards our nearest neighbors. It was clear that the gradual establishing of our international-legal identity would be inextricably connected, above all, with the creation of good bilateral relations with our nearest neighbors. Through meetings at the level of ministers of foreign affairs, we have created a framework for creating fully-fledged cooperation, not only with Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, and Austria, but also with France and Italy. Considerable activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerned relations with Germany and Russia, and there have been a great number of lower-level diplomatic contacts with the United States.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with more than 100 countries has also been a complex task. Our entry into the United Nations and other international organizations was not the result of some automatic process either—although some wizards here at home try to convince us of that. Behind these achievements there was a lot of concrete diplomatic effort that had to be made without the help of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, as each Republic had to carry out its own share of independent work.

From the very beginning of my work as foreign minister, I considered cooperation with the Foreign Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic as very important. One of the concrete demonstrations of this approach was my initiative in asking the Foreign Committee for cooperation on two fundamental issues in which the new and independent Slovak foreign policy was beginning to assert itself: in evaluating the basics of

the concept of foreign policy, and in preparing the establishment of the leading representative missions of the Slovak Republic abroad.

Regarding the foreign policy concept adopted by the government of the Slovak Republic at the end of inter-ministry debate, I am pleased to say that its content is no different from the version discussed and adopted by the Foreign Committee in November 1992. In order to be able to base the Committee's work on broader political support in the field of foreign policy, I also organized meetings with representatives of all political parties and from the areas of economic, social, and religious life. These meetings, together with the clearly democratic way in which this very important document was adopted, helped to define the perimeter outlining the foreign policy of the new state.

The establishment of an independent central institution designed to facilitate the participation of Slovakia—as an entity of international law—in both bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation has been an exceptionally serious and complex task. Such an institution simply could not have been created by transferring one third of its Prague version. The former Ministry of Foreign Relations—which I myself started building up as early as 1990 despite the determined resistance of the federal bodies and many politicians of the time—has become the foundation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Slovak Republic gradually earned itself credibility abroad, and also established a measure of knowledge and experience that could have been further built upon. The staff of the present Ministry of Foreign Affairs is based precisely on those officials who were building up the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Slovak Republic and who, with an ever greater emphasis, have been pursuing Slovak national interests in foreign policy.

It is well known that the former Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not include many top Slovak experts. Of the small number of those who worked there, one-third decided to apply for Czech citizenship.

At the end of 1992, when it was certain that the Federation would break up, we were compelled to send 120 Slovak staff abroad in order to ensure at least the basic functioning of future Slovak representations. Given these numbers and the level of know-how we had, it is logical that certain imperfections could occur, both in staff selection and training. This fact is manifested also by the fact that, since the beginning of this year, we have had to carry out a laborious process of virtually completing staff training directly from the ministry over distances. This continues to impose a further burden on the ministry. The Slovak Republic representations abroad, however, are currently staffed in a way that enables them to carry out at least their basic functions.

The division of property abroad was a very important work carried out by the ministry. I submitted a complete set of documents to the Slovak National Council Foreign Affairs Committee on this topic. There is no doubt about the fact that we have gained 30 percent of the property that was evaluated. The fact that the law on the termination of the federation was adopted rather late was possibly a cause for our not having time to finalize certain details. What is at issue, however, is a negligible proportion of the total value. The Czech side feels the same.

At present, we have 53 functioning embassies, four missions, and three consulates-general. The setting up of these representations is a result of our conducting a thorough analysis of political and economic interests of the Slovak Republic and of taking into consideration the fact that, while nothing can be more simple than to abolish an existing embassy, restoring its work is extremely difficult. We cannot rule out that—with regard to Slovak Republic economic difficulties and restricted foreign service budget—we shall have to reevaluate in some instances whether representative office should be kept. We have some time, however, to properly consider these matters.

In the process of staffing our representations and laying down the basis for their work, we proceed from the principles of cutting our costs as much as possible. We are gradually building effective and low-cost communications. For the time being, we have to watch our funds even in providing agency information. If the fact that Czech embassies are getting longer cables than Slovak ones and Slovak diplomats have a chance to read them prompts someone to conclude that Slovak embassies are controlled by the Czech ones, then those saying that have failed to understand the essence of foreign service work.

At the same time, the information that our diplomats are not being given is so demagogical and misleading that I feel it is inappropriate to even mention it.

Despite many problems, we are gradually succeeding in appointing capable people to important posts in the ministry. To a large extent, we are looking for young people who meet language and personality prerequisites and who should form a good basis for the further development of an independent Slovak diplomacy. Furthermore, our database of those interested in the foreign service exceeds 2,000 candidates. This database is constantly used. Selection procedures and selections for specific posts are taking place.

We are experiencing a shortage of lawyers specializing in international law who have good language knowledge. Even when we find people with these qualifications, however, we cannot give them salaries comparable to those paid by foreign firms.

I am being asked what initiated the differences between the prime minister's views and my views. The post I am holding exposes me to the first onslaught coming from abroad, to direct foreign reactions to the ways in which we are implementing the tasks of not only our foreign policy, but also of our domestic policy. I do not intend to list specific examples where I have had to explain, or

literally iron out, some statements and actions of the prime minister vis-a-vis foreign countries. [applause]

I do not regard this fact as a tragedy. After all, it is one of the tasks of the foreign minister. What is extremely sad, however, is that we did not learn a lesson from the majority of these instances. The prime minister failed to show interest in closer cooperation with me and with the ministry I am heading. On the contrary, suspicions escalated that I was pursuing some kind of policy of my own. I resolutely deny this.

Serious problems that arose concerned general issues of mutual cooperation and the building of the ministry. These were, first and foremost, the incorporation into our ministry of duties related to external economic relations. On 24 August 1992, the prime minister told me that, according to National Council of the Slovak Republic Law No. 453, these powers were to be transferred in full to our ministry. Based upon this instruction, I submitted a blueprint of the ministry's organizational structure. The Slovak Republic cabinet did not object to this blueprint. We were building the ministry in keeping with this guideline.

At the end of 1992, these powers were taken away from the Slovak Republic Foreign Ministry and transferred to the Economics Ministry. The entire structure had to be changed during the least suitable period—at the culmination of the work on the division of the Czechoslovak Foreign Service. This caused unnecessary difficulties. Decisions about foreign representations had to be made. While our ministry lost its powers, the apparatus of the Economics Ministry's was far from completed and was unable to cope properly with these tasks.

In the end, we managed, and we are coping. The entire matter, however, has brought into our work an enormous degree of nervousness, as well as additional tasks requiring efforts that could have been channelled into other, more useful work.

There are more issues in the area of personnel policy where views have differed. There were not many trained, qualified diplomats who could represent Slovakia from the very first days of its independence. Nevertheless, we have a few high-caliber people who cannot be treated casually. I think, however, that this is precisely what has happened as a result of Prime Minister Meciar's initiative. It has happened for political reasons that I would have thought had been over and done with. I cannot give names here because every name is tied to a specific country and specific bilateral relations.

Now, I will comment on the prime minister's allegation that we did not prepare a single foreign trip for him. I would only like to say the following on the subject. When top-level contacts are prepared, they follow a certain logic. During the course of four months, talks at the foreign-minister level with 10 nearby states are planned, preceded by corresponding diplomatic activity. The talks are, at the same time, a prelude to further summit-level meetings. In other countries, it is customary to arrange things in this way. Any artificial speeding-up of the process does not help at all. Any activity organized by various foundations and business circles cannot be taken as binding contact. Such activities produce very little that is binding, even if they include meetings with prominent personalities.

I have discussed many other issues where misunderstandings were occurring at the sessions of the Foreign Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, which was supposed to have taken a stance on the work of the Foreign Ministry. The committee has not done so to this day. Everything has been pointing to my recall from office without anybody taking into account a factual assessment. If this is the case, I cannot help feeling that the initiative for my resignation has other causes. I would briefly characterize these causes as follows:

I have become a thorn in the government's side because, on a number of occasions, I have been critical about issues and have not held a view identical to that of the prime minister, most of all. It was not a question of differing views on the government's program, but on how it would be implemented. I have gained the impression that democratic forms have been replaced by authoritarian ways of heading the government. For these and other reasons, I have eventually come to the conclusion that the complex tasks that independent Slovakia is facing require a wider participation of political forces in tackling the objectives of the new Slovak policy.

As for foreign policy, I have tried to introduce a wider concept and was ready to give space to other political parties to let them contribute with their own efforts to the implementation of foreign policy tasks, including having their people among the personnel of the young Slovak diplomatic corps. That is my idea of democracy in a new state, which I have tried to put into practice in the conditions of one ministry.

Thank you for listening, ladies and gentlemen. [applause]

Knazko States Case in Dispute

AU2203075293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Mar 93 pp 1,2

[Report by Julius Gembicky: "'I Would Not Make The Same Mistake Twice'"]

[Text] Bratislava—The second part of the press briefing held by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Milan Knazko aroused uncustomary interest among journalists. Knazko responded to Vladimir Meciar's assessment of their dispute and to some of the comments made about him by the prime minister after the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Presidium meeting on Saturday [13 March].

Knazko said in his introduction that no one had invited him to the press briefing in Lucenec. He continued as follows:

"I had assumed that at the press briefing I would hear matter-of-fact arguments supporting the claim about the weakest ministry in the government. The commission set up by the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee has been amassing objective arguments for and against for more than two weeks. We should learn what conclusions it has reached on Wednesday [17 March]. Despite this, I would like to mention one criticism. Let me quote Vladimir Meciar: 'The crux lies in the ministry's activity and policy, which was oriented against the HZDS, against its program, against its interests, and against the interests of Slovakia abroad.'

"That is a very serious accusation. It is all the more serious because of its very vagueness. Such a claim should be backed up by an argument demonstrating when and how the ministry operated against the interests of Slovakia abroad. Here is another quote: 'The nonexistence of foreign policy tactics cannot be tolerated even if there is some kind of long-term strategic concept. A lack of communication among government members cannot be tolerated.'

"As far as the tactics are concerned, we are drafting a concept and objectives for the government's foreign policy—in accordance with its stipulation—and we are waiting for a reply from the individual departments. We are still within the deadline for fulfilling this stipulation. Perhaps, I should say something about the so-called moratorium. I would like to acquaint you with the contents of a resolution adopted by the Presidium on 6 February. It states the following in item No. 10: 'The Presidium commits all members of the movement—especially all leading representatives—to a moratorium concerning resolving the movement's problems via the mass media prior to the republic-wide assembly.' So, the claim that I misunderstood this seems to me to be incorrect. Identifying a party or movement with the government is something we did for decades in this country. I stress that I have not infringed the moratorium and I have not spoken about the movement's internal problems for a whole month. However, if we are talking about the purpose of such a moratorium, then it is obviously to make sure the conflict does not escalate. Let me ask a rhetorical question: Has the prime minister not infringed the moratorium more, not by what he has said, but by what he has done? I mean, preventing me from making my working visit to Brussels is at variance with a resolution adopted by the government last October. The same applies to the visit to Geneva and again to Brussels. This is a very peculiar way of keeping silent and of observing the moratorium. I think actions speak louder than words, and all of this—including the proposal to recall me—involves conflicting actions. This has been approved by the HZDS Political Board, but this body cannot revoke a resolution adopted by the Presidium, which is a republic-wide body, the highest after the assembly. Such party decisions are, unfortunately, then turned into government decisions."

[Question] Mr. Minister, since you have been relieved of your oath to remain silent, tell us the real reasons behind your dispute with the prime minister. Journalists have been searching for them, but they are merely uncovering general allegations.

[Knazko] The real reasons for our dispute derive from the matter-of-fact criticism I ventured to make last August when staff were excluded from official receptions at the ministry. This is a phenomenon for which it would be hard to find a parallel, either in the former federation or the world. These staff still cannot take part in the official receptions given by the prime minister. For example, receptions for ambassadors. Consequently, no record is kept of these meetings. I ventured to criticize this situation and I pointed it out to parliament. So, if Mr. Gasparovic replied in Lucenec that parliament has nothing to do with this issue, he is not quite right. For one thing, the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Committee is involved in an analysis of our activity and, for another, I first pointed this out to parliament in a long letter addressed to the prime minister; however, I also sent a copy to Mr. Gasparovic and Mr. Laluha. The fact that parliament did not deal with it is not my affair. I did turn to parliament. I can get you a copy of the text of the letter.

[Question] Some rather vague criticism was directed at you in Lucenec. For a start, that it is untrue—as Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko has claimed—that, because of you, Slovakia can say it has been accepted by almost all the countries in the world and that the Czech and Slovak Republics were accepted by the world community on the basis of our calm breakup. Also, you are incredibly sensitive about personal criticism, but react less vigorously to anti-Slovak attacks. Mr. Meciar said the following in this regard: "The KDH does not have to criticize the government since my deputy does it better."

[Knazko] No one other than this ministry could represent this country regarding our recognition and acceptance into world organizations and regarding its incorporation into international structures. I addressed the United Nations, spoke at the conference on destroying chemical and nuclear weapons, and addressed the CSCE. I am not sensitive to personal criticism (...) evil tongues were unleashed in connection with the ten-fold increase in the number of staff at this ministry, and with the opening of virtually 60 representative offices throughout the world and their staffing. We certainly made mistakes. I have never said that we are perfect, but I have always stressed that dozens of experts have done a great deal of good work, and I reject the claim that we are the worst department.

I have never called anyone names. I leave arrogance and this kind of vulgar communication to other politicians (laughter). I would like to again refer to the prime minister and movement chairman's identification with the movement as such. If I indulge in factual criticism of specific mistakes—I can explain what they are to the chairman any time—this does not mean I am criticizing the movement. As far as I am concerned, the movement and its chairman are not completely compounded into a single unit.

According to an analysis of our activity when we entered into government, this ministry was assessed as functional. All of the people—with a few exceptions—have remained in it. On the contrary, it has been enhanced by staff from the federal ministry and by those we appointed on the basis of an open competition. So I do not know when and why this ministry became nonfunctional. Let me mention this gem, a letter I received with a proposal for a bonus on 7 December 1992: "I am assigning you a half-year bonus as a reward for the successful results achieved by your department in the second half of 1992. The bonus is subject to taxation in accordance with the valid regulations and will be paid to you from your department's funds. I thank you for our successful cooperation in the second half of the year. Yours sincerely, Vladimir Meciar."

[Question] Mr. Minister, do you intend to turn to parliament with your problem? There was also talk at the Presidium meeting in Lucenec about a platform within the framework of the HZDS if you were to be stripped of your post and found yourself back in parliament. We do not want to jump the gun, but in the event that you are removed from your post, are you prepared to establish—or, have you started work on establishing—a HZDS platform in parliament?

[Knazko] Let us not anticipate events. I am a member of the HZDS and I am still a minister.

[Question] Do you intend to ask parliament for a vote of confidence?

[Knazko] Parliament is analyzing our ministry's activity. We expect the results any moment now. In this connection, I would like to comment on something—if we are talking about a law-governed state—that is, I would ask the prime minister why, and with what expert authority, he is casting doubt on a point of view that has not yet been issued and that is expected from the Foreign Affairs Committee. Parliament should really fulfill the government's supreme supervision task.

[Question] Mr. Minister, apprehension was expressed at the press briefing in Lucenec that, if you are relieved of your post and return to parliament, you may somehow jeopardize the functionality and unity of the HZDS Deputies' Club. Have you ever manifested such tendencies? You said in one of your interviews that the revolution will not devour its own children. Have you now changed your mind?

[Knazko] To date, I have not spoken with any HZDS deputy on forming any kind of faction or group. An obvious attempt is being made here to give the public the impression that I am an advocate of conflict. As you have noticed, I am not asking anyone to submit his resignation or leave the government. I am not creating a conflict situation and, to be perfectly honest, I am not hurrying to parliament as a deputy to found a faction there. The prime minister said at the February Presidium meeting that they have known for three months—and he spoke with Mr. Gasparovic about this—that Knazko will be the one to break up the HZDS from inside and found a new faction.

This is a sign of some kind of conspiracy. These could be arguments from the 1950's. But, times have changed and despite being accused—as I have already explained—of working against Slovakia's interests abroad, and because these are not the 1950's, I will not go to prison. As far as your second question is concerned, that I expressed my view in an interview that the revolution will not devour its own children, I think our revolution's appetite should already be sated. Moreover, I think our democracy is called a parliamentary democracy. This is not a coincidence. In a certain sense of the word, the function of the prime minister is placed on a par with parliament. After all, it is impossible to consider a proposal from the prime minister to be an expression of confidence or lack of confidence in parliament. What would be the purpose of parliament's procedure, its supervisory activity, and its votes of confidence or of no confidence, if the prime minister can do this without parliament? This leads to a merger of incompatible institutions, on the one hand, legislative and supervisory authority and, on the other hand, executive authority. Such a merger could place some questionmarks over our future.

[Question] Mr. Minister, in Italy the government changes every quarter. Can we expect such a change in Slovakia following this conflict?

[Knazko] It may be expected. The difference is that in Italy the entire government always changes. Here only one ministry is changing, although I do not think it is the most nonfunctional. In other words, I am convinced that the personnel changes in the Foreign Ministry will not resolve the health care problem.

[Question] In your opinion, why did the arguments we are hearing today make no impression on the members at Saturday's Presidium meeting? In Lucenec, when the prime minister spoke—virtually in the past tense—about your friendship, he expressed regret. What is your current relationship with the prime minister? Is it at all friendly, is it a relationship of the past or does it still exist in the present?

[Knazko] The prime minister has not responded to my greetings for 11 weeks, he does not communicate with me at all; I do not want to talk about the other details. To talk about friendship in such a case means showing the same sense of humor as he showed when he spoke about flying in connection with the government and my flight to Geneva. What I mean is his statement: "Why should Knazko fly to Geneva when he will soon be flying from the government?" So talking about friendship means demonstrating a sense of humor. Why did my arguments in Lucenec make no impression? We have to ask—where is the truth? If someone wants to know the truth, there is no problem. I am afraid this is associated with a dilemma. The arguments in this case do not have their normal value and do not carry their normal weight. Despite being relieved of my oath of silence, it does not

seem right for me to analyze my colleagues and to look into which of them is bereft of flexibility and why.

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Bratislava (TA SR)—"I would not make the same mistake twice," said Milan Knazko yesterday in reply to a question on whether he would again appear on television—as he did two years ago—in defense of Prime Minister Meciar. He also expressed his opinion that the personnel changes at the Slovak Foreign Ministry "will not resolve the health care problem." In connection with the Foreign Ministry, he said that "if someone can claim today that the Slovak embassies are run by the Czech Foreign Ministry, then this is beyond the bounds of rationality."

Deputies To Decide Knazko's Future in Parliament

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[Text] Bratislava March 22 (CTK)—The parliamentary future of former Slovak Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier Milan Knazko is expected to be decided by the legislature's 17th session which will resume on March 24, CTK learned from the parliamentary press department today.

Knazko, who returns to parliament as a deputy this week after his dismissal last Friday [19 March], will be delegated by the group of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), of which he is a member, to one of the parliament's nine committees.

With Knazko's return to the parliament, the mandate of deputy Miroslav Jezik, member of the Health and Social Committee, who temporarily replaced Knazko when holding the ministerial post, expires.

On March 19, Knazko was removed from both government posts by Slovak President Michal Kovac, on a proposal by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. Later in the day Knazko told a press conference that his remaining in the parliament HZDS group of deputies will be decided at the HZDS congress to take place in Trnava, West Slovakia, on March 27-28.

CTK has learned that former Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak, who quit on March 18, showed interest to work in the parliament Economics and Budget Committee. Cernak, till Thursday the only Slovak non-HZDS minister, resigned in protest against Imrich Andrejcak's (HZDS) being appointed as Slovak defence minister earlier last week.

Meciar Discusses Changes in Government

LD1903215993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Regular Friday interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vadim Meciar by Zuzana Stukovska; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Stukovska] Prime Minister, the public is observing the government chessboard with surprise and even awe today. Some with concern and others, admittedly, with open glee are waiting for the sovereign prime minister to be check-mated. To what degree do you admit that the present state of affairs on the chessboard reflects the crisis of government policy?

[Meciar] I do not consider it to be a crisis of government policy; it is a crisis of the personalities who sat in that government. The content of policy remains unchanged. On the contrary, by changing persons, the intensity of the fulfillment of policy tasks will increase, and that is the difference. Of course, this situation is not easy for me either, and it is not easy for the public to accept it. In the field of foreign policy there are two things which I must observe: the first is that, although I have been forced to move the proposal for the dismissal of Milan Knazko from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, we go back a long way together and there is the human aspect of how to overcome this moment and start speaking about him in a different way today in front of the public. There are also foreign policy interests—how to speak about matters linked to foreign policy issues and at the same time not reveal important facts that would damage Slovak interests abroad. That is my dilemma. That is why my possibilities to speak are limited and, as you may have noticed, I am not defending myself. I take the blows rather than damage these higher interests. That is the first aspect.

The second aspect is the fact that Minister of the Economy Cernak's departure from the government is nothing new. On various occasions he announced—at least five times as far as I remember, each time for a different reason—that he would resign. At present, in my view, he had no other possibility. [Passage omitted] I think that both changes in ministerial posts will help the government to be more efficient, both as far as its integrity and internal cooperation are concerned. To a certain degree this is a flight from responsibility, and the consequences of mistakes made in the respective departments. Sooner or later things would have accumulated in such a way that these steps would happen anyway, maybe through a different mechanism, but still at the expense of damaging other important interests. If I wanted to protect the government, its policy and program, I did not have any other option.

[Stukovska] Minister Cernak says that he is not shirking responsibility. On the contrary, the public is judging this move of yours as a risky exchange—you sacrificed the minister of the economy for the minister of defense. Two further questions arise in this context: Was it a test of power on your part or is the truth the fact that you have managed to find in the parliament another, less demanding seventy-fifth vote which the government inevitably needed in support of its proposals?

[Meciar] Both is speculation. Minister Cernak did not link his resignation to the nomination of Andrejcak as defense minister and neither did he make any mention of that in his statement. [Passage omitted]

We have explained to the Slovak National Party [SNP] what Mr. Andrejcak did, his merits for not only the division of the army but also, in 1991-92, the steps taken by him to strengthen the security of the Slovak Republic. We did not make these arguments public and neither do we intend to do so. The SNP knows them. So the conclusion is that it is a matter of keeping face, not of changing two ministers. [Passage omitted]

As for the state of affairs in the department of the Ministry of the Economy, that is very complicated. We understood more the position of the minister from the political point of view since we needed the political support of the SNP. Evidently, after the change this department must start functioning better and smoother to work for the implementation of the economic policy of the government, because that is where the main focus is today and where many spheres have been stagnating for a long time.

[Stukovska] I had the opportunity to speak with Minister Cernak yesterday, and it ensued from the interview that his resignation should force the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia to cooperate with other parties. Prime Minister, in what circumstances, or rather on what condition would you be willing to accede to the idea of a wider coalition, because—and excuse me for being so frank—what is being said about you at the moment does not add to your authority. Allegediy, the totalitarian rule of one party has been substituted by the totalitarian rule of one person.

[Meciar] I reject that. All these matters must be perceived in the manner in which they develop. Permanent pressure is being exerted on Slovakia. It is pressure form outside as well as from within. It is pressure for a change of the situation. It is pressure to change the outcome of the elections. You know that many political subjects have not accepted the result of the elections and neither have most of the media community. So if we speak of lack of democracy, then we should ask—is the parliament democratic or not? Does the premier interfere into the activities of the parliament? No. Does he interfere with the judiciary? No. The premier is ready to talk and argue and insists that counter arguments must be proved. What kind of authority is what? The authority of reason, or the authority of the post? If you put it this way, it looks different. The situation in the government is very democratic. Everybody says what he wants. Everybody freely expresses his views. Issues of dispute are resolved by voting. [Passage omitted]

It is clear why many media work as they do. It is also clear that public opinion has been distorted. Just have a look how many opportunities Mr. Knazko has been given to speak publicly in a situation when all the rest of us kept silent. See how many chances to speak the opposition gets, how many chances yet another sphere of interest has been receiving in various media for such destructive aims.

Thus the struggle for Slovakia [word indistinct] has not ended yet, it is still going on. These days it is aimed at the destruction of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, the destruction of the government. If this succeeds, the last obstacle to another political regime and another system of power will be removed. Then all will be surprised by what will happen here. I am still that obstacle. I defend this, and I will continue to defend this as long as I stay in my post.

[passage omitted] [Stukovska] It is expected that the president will accept the resignation of Minister Cernak and will recall Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Knazko from his post. Malicious voices claim that you will finally be able to heave a sigh of relief because you will get rid of the two biggest rebels in the government. Will you apply the method "It is either him or me" for the solution of difficulties also in other cases?

[Meciar] That method was not applied this time either. Your question is misguiding. Do not do that to me again. I did not use such a method.

[Stukovska] Prime Minister, I am drawing on information published by the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic.

[Meciar] Please, draw only on my own statements because I am responsible for myself, not press agencies. As for the question what steps will be taken in other cases, whether this was a matter of prestige or not, whether I got rid of two rebels—well, how could they rebel in the government? First, they submit material which either is or is not well-qualified. Second, they express their views. Each view which is expressed and aims at finding a manner of solution is valuable. Each is lengthily deliberated to find the best solution. There were no rebels inside the government. All was quiet there. The rebellion went on in the media. Those were not quiet. [Passage omitted]

As for the manner of the solution of the situation. There were actually two ways. One was the method which was selected—the method of gradual steps leading to change. I do not think that has ended yet. The second method would be a resignation of the whole government, the appointment of a new one and a new political program. The risk of the second method ensues from the existing political situation in Slovakia. First there is unwillingness to join the government—that is a general feature. Second, the new political program would have to be a new alternative that would have to be accepted by all parties. There is small chance that anybody would accept anything today because that would mean linking one's name to this program and jeopardizing one's political future. So I could not use that. When personnel changes are carried out the new people should be given a chance to prove they can do better. I know they will.

[Stukovska] I will give the source of my question—according to information in the media, that was what the president said in eastern Slovakia when commenting on the mentioned dispute.

[Meciar] The president was present at the government session and each member of the government spoke at least once—that is all the members present. Mr. Cernak was absent that day and was represented by the state secretary. Each member frankly and sincerely described the situation which we have not exposed to the media. The president understood there was no other possibility except to recall Mr. Knazko. At the same time he gave him time until Tuesday to resign and thus simplify the process if he did not want to cause a split in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Mr. Knazko did not submit his resignation; he wants to be a victim. Members of the government commented on the arguments presented by Mr. Knazko, who spoke several times, and their comments were very much to the point. We are aware of what the situation is like. We know what our foreign policy is like, in what condition it is. The foreign policy is in bad shape, in exceptionally bad shape. We get beaten wherever we go. To say in detail how and what [is bad] would mean to open ourselves to those who are preparing the second wave of a focused attack. We cannot do that. I do apologize therefore to the citizens for putting them into a situation where they are left to either believe or not. I cannot today unveil to them the truth in its full nakedness.

Moravcik Named New Foreign Minister

'To Harmonize' Ties With Meciar

LD2003215693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by correspondent Stella Hanzelova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hanzelova] Minister, are there any differences between your own and Prime Minister Meciar's views on the direction of Slovak foreign policy?

[Moravcik] As for the direction of foreign policy, there should be no differences between what the prime minister presents and what the Foreign Ministry delivers. I will aim to harmonize the two.

[Hanzelova] You have worked with Milan Knazko, the former foreign minister. How do you personally regard the criticism that has been directed against him?

[Moravcik] I would not like to comment on the criticism. I have not really had a chance to familiarize myself with all the facts which would allow me to judge the criticism. I think that, above all, there has been a problem of trust in relations between the prime minister and the foreign minister. Trust failed to be renewed, or established. I think this was the reason for the whole affair. [passage omitted]

[Hanzelova] The last question. When federal assets were being divided [between the Czech and Slovak Republics], certain problems cropped up. Will they be reflected in our policy toward the Czech Republic?

[Moravcik] They should not be.

Says No Policy Changes

LD1903174993 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CTK)—New Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik today said that the priorities of Slovakia's foreign policy would not change with every change at the head of the ministry, and he would pursue the goals set.

At a briefing for journalists after he was appointed to the post by Slovak President Michal Kovac to replace Milan Knazko, he said that more decisive steps would have to be taken to gradually integrate Slovakia into Europe's security structures and into the Euro-Atlantic area.

Moravcik said he would not make personnel changes if the staff fulfil their duties with responsibility, and added he was convinced that he would closely cooperate with Knazko within the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] and would welcome his assistance in the ministry's management.

Both Moravcik and Knazko are members of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia of Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Moravcik stressed the need for Slovakia and Hungary to jointly lodge with the Hague-based International Court of Justice a request for solving the controversial hydroproject Gabcikovo-Nagymaros on the Danube.

He believes that it is time to end up with the radical separation of the Slovak Republic from the Czech Republic.

No-Confidence Motion in Health Minister Rejected

AU1903142093 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)— The Slovak parliament rejected today a no-confidence vote on Slovak Health Minister Viliam Sobona, with 61 of the 132 deputies present voting for the no-confidence measure, 62 deputies voting against it and nine abstaining from the vote.

Under the Slovak Constitution, an absolute majority in the 150-seat Slovak parliament is needed to pass a no-confidence vote on a member of the Slovak Government.

The proposal for the no-confidence vote on Sobona was tabled by 45 deputies, members of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), Democratic Left Party (SDL) and by Hungarian deputies on March 3. They argued

that Sobona did not fulfill his tasks and grants no prospects to cope with these tasks in the future, the deputies stated.

After the session, Sobona told journalists that his opponents are using unessential arguments and false data. He will continue in his strategy and fight corruption in the field of health care, Sobona said.

Meciar Denied Floor in Parliament, Walks Out

AU1903140193 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)— Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia - HZDS) walked out today from the conference room of the Slovak parliament after the chairman of today's session Ivan Gasparovic (HZDS) had refused to give him the floor.

Meciar wanted to answer an interpellation submitted by the opposition deputy Mikulas Dzurinda (Christian Democratic Movement), concerning the government's economic policy and privatization process.

Mr. Premier, you cannot speak right now, as we had agreed that government members would not answer the interpellations during the session, but only at its end, Gasparovic told the premier.

On seeing Meciar's walkout, Gasparovic, chairman of the parliament, gave him the floor, but Meciar left the room.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 18 March on page 1 carries a 200-word "ma"-signed commentary on the above incident, entitled "Deputy or Servant?" Noting Gasparovic's "frightened" reaction to Meciar's walkout and his subsequent plea that Meciar stay and speak, the author sees the incident as another proof that Slovak "deputies have voluntarily become a toy in the hands of the prime minister." The author reminds the deputies that, on taking up their seats, they promised to "serve their voters and not the prime minister."]

Latest Poll Shows Confidence in Meciar Falling

AU1903140493 Prague CTK in English 1419 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)— Confidence of Slovak citizens in Premier Vladimir Meciar fell in February to 25 percent against 34 percent in January, the first month of the existence of independent Slovakia, according to a poll conducted by the Slovak Statistics Office in February 19 to 28.

The poll showed, however, that Meciar still preserves the best rating among Slovak politicians. Slovak President Michal Kovac's rating has grown considerably. About 24 percent of the 1,268 respondents said they trust him, compared with only 7 percent in January. Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss rated third with 22 percent, against 21 percent in January. Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko received 13-percent support, 6 percent more than in January.

According to the poll, mostly followers of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) put their trust in Meciar, who is HZDS chairman, while Kovac, also HZDS, enjoys confidence of wider strata of the population. He is trusted by HZDS followers (31 percent), by people without party affiliation (25 percent), supporters of the SDL (15 percent), of the Slovak National Party (SNS) - 10 percent, of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) - 6 percent and of other political parties and movements (13 percent).

Only 9 percent of those polled said they trust Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic. KDH Chairman and former Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky received a four-percent support, one percent less than in January.

About 30 percent of the Slovak population do not trust any politician.

Filkus Resigns as HZDS Council Chairman

LD1903185993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] [Announcer] The Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has convened its republican council to Bratislava tomorrow [March 20]. According to the information available to us, this is to be an extraordinary session. We asked HZDS chairman Vladimir Meciar for more detailed information:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] The session of the republic council was planned at its latest session. There, it was agreed to carry out an analysis of its activities and prepare a new concept of the council's activities because it is inevitable to do things differently in the council. It is an important body which coordinates the parliament, government, bodies of state administration, self-administration, and professional bodies. It transforms them into one big entity, and the fact that it failed to function in the last period caused serious damage to the movement.

If the movement and its intellectual base are to be revived, it is inevitable to renew its structure. Thus, the form of such a new structure will be discussed.

Given the fact that Mr. Filkus announced that he would resign from the post of the council chairman, and the deputy chairmen had already resigned, it will be necessary to elect new bodies of the movement. [end recording] [passage omitted]

HZDS Council Appoints Roman Kovac Chairman

LD2003214693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Excerpts] The council of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] held its session today in Bratislava.

The main items on the agenda were personnel issues and the new structure of the council. [passage omitted]

Today, however, decisions were made not only on the philosophy of the council but also on the future of its chairman. Dalibor Hladik reports from the news conference.

[Hladik] The new HZDS philosophy is based on the concept of the council as a strategic, advisory, and coordinating body of the movement. [passage omitted]

The number of members, 132, should gradually be reduced to a maximum of 50. It was said, however, that it will be 30 rather than 50. [passage omitted]

The council's chairman should at the same time be the deputy chairman of the HZDS. He should sit at the sessions of the political caucus and HZDS leadership and have the decisive vote. [passage omitted]

Once the proposals of a number of districts to scrap the council were rejected, the new philosophy behind the council was debated. It was said at the news conference that the structure is gradually beginning to resemble that of a party. Journalists were told that a rebirth of the HZDS as a party is on the cards for the future.

Everything remains open, however, including the new structure. The HZDS assembly will decide on the new structure next weekend. Today, it was decided to replace the council's chairman. Rudolf Filkus has been replaced by Roman Kovac.

President Appoints Head of Presidential Office

AU1903211393 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 17 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "We Have a Chancellor"]

[Text] President Michal Kovac appointed Professor Jan Findra, Ph.D., doctor of sciences, rector of the Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica, to head the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic. The chancellor must give up his membership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, his seat in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and the elected post of university rector.

Kovac Criticizes Czech Suspension of Slovak Shares

LD2003174293 Prague CTK in English 1702 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac considers the Czech Government's decision of Wednesday to suspend the distribution of Czech enterprise shares gained by Slovak investors in the first wave of coupon privatisation as a dangerous step which he would never take.

In an exclusive interview for today's Czech daily "RUDE PRAVO", Kovac said: I think it is a dangerous step. ...During my visit to Prague...I would like to tell Mr. President (Vaclav) Havel that both sides should avoid taking such steps.

Last night, Havel said he expected Kovac to come to Prague on March 30-31.

We should separate matters concerning the former Czechoslovakia from new ones which should be guided by the (Czech-Slovak) payments agreement and by the rules which we had agreed upon, Kovac said.

The Czech Government has said that the shares distribution should be postponed until the definitive settlement of the question of federal property division and until the settlement of the assets and liabilities of the former Czechoslovak State Bank (SBCS) which, it said, have been delayed by the fault of the Slovaks. Last night, Czech National Bank (CNB) Governor Josef Tosovsky said that Slovakia's debt towards the Czech Republic amounts to 24.7 billion crowns (about 0.85 billion USD). This figure was made clear during the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank's balance.

Kovac said he was surprised by how quickly the former Czechoslovak currency was split (February 8). I firmly believed that the currency union would last till the end of the year. ...It is necessary to thoroughly analyse what has happened with the currency...and to learn from it that we should not deal in the same way with questions concerning the customs union.

The Czech-Slovak agreements on the currency and customs unions were signed last October.

Asked whether he was not afraid that a serious political crisis might erupt in Slovakia, where Foreign Minister Milan Knazko was dismissed on Friday and Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak resigned, by which the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) lost its majority in the Slovak Parliament, Kovac said: we must seek such solutions that would not lead to worsening Slovakia's position in the world, but to increasing its credibility.

Asked what he thought of ever stronger demands to involve also other parties than the HZDS in the management and administration of the state, Kovac said: within a short time, I will convene representatives of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political parties. I would like all of them to try to seek agreement on cooperation which would help ensure Slovakia's interests.

In conclusion, Kovac said: we would not like that any complex problems (in Czech-Slovak relations) be solved at the expense of the other party.

Cabinet Protests Czech Decision

AU1903153693 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)— Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar sees the Czech Government's decision to suspend the transfer of shares gained by Slovak

citizens in Czech enterprises in the first wave of coupon privatization last year as an act of discrimination on the grounds of nationality and citizenship.

Speaking with CTK today, Meciar said that this step harms and discriminates Slovak coupon holders who placed their investment points in Czech enterprises.

Asked about a possible response by the Slovak Government, Meciar said he had not yet discussed the issue with his ministers.

Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac said the Czech decision was a certain form of nationalization and a breach of the principles of private ownership.

The Czech Government decided to suspend the transfer of shares to Slovaks until problems concerning division of the former Czechoslovak Federation's property between its two successor states are resolved.

Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said the Czech decision is not legally valid, and amounts to seizure of the property of Slovak citizens.

It means forced administration of the property of the citizens of the Slovak Republic, Toth said. He added that the Slovak Government would respond to it, but did not elaborate.

Toth said he doubted whether the Czech Government had the right to decide about such a step. In his opinion the Czech parliament should have decided on this issue.

Mikulas Dzurinda, a Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) deputy to the Slovak parliament and one of the chief opponents of the Slovak Government's economic program, said he was surprised and distressed at the Czech decision.

It is sad if disputes between state administrations and the interests of citizens are mixed up, Dzurinda said. He added that he could not believe that the Czech Government, composed of experts he respects, could resort to such a step.

He recalled that just as Slovak citizens invested their coupons in the Czech Republic, Czech citizens placed their investment points in Slovak enterprises. This could call forth very embarrassing countermeasures, Dzurinda said.

Delegation Will Not Sign Gabcikovo Agreement

LD1903092793 Prague CTK in English 0748 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CTK)—Slovak delegation will not travel to Brussels on Friday to sign an agreement submitting the Slovak-Hungarian dispute over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, commissioner of the Hungarian Government Gyorgy Tatar said last night.

Speaking with the Hungarian minority daily "UJ SZO" Tatar said that Hungary would welcome information about the specific changes the Slovak Government would like to make in the joint Slovak-Hungarian request.

Spokesman for the Hungarian Government Janos Herman told "UJ SZO" that he had known the fact that Slovak delegation would not go to Brussels since Thursday morning, and that he did not see any reason for Hungarian Foreign Ministry State Secretary Janos Martonyis travelling to Brussels. Martonyi is responsible for the Gabcikovo issue.

UJ SZO says that the two countries have agreed to continue their talks about the joint request next week.

The European Community (EC) called on Slovakia and Hungary to sign in Brussels Friday their joint request to the International Court of Justice in The Hague concerning their dispute over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube.

Tatar said Thursday [18 March] that Hungary had accepted the EC proposal.

Russians Reject Reference to 1968 in Bilateral Treaty

AU1903214193 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Mar 93 p 1

[Interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, by Blazej Panik in Moscow; date not given: "Treaties Are Not Textbooks of History; Yevgeniy Ambartsumov Categorically Rejects Any Mention of August 1968"]

[Text] Moscow— "I am categorically opposed to passing judgment on history in interstate treaties." This is how Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, responded to a question about including condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 in the Russian-Slovak treaty that is now being drafted. Treaties are not "textbooks of history," in his opinion. In an interview with the NARODNA OBRODA correspondent, Ambartsumov went on to say that "in that case we should also condemn Slovakia's participation in the war on the side of the Hitler-led coalition."

"You see to which ends this would lead. It is necessary to draw conclusions from what happened. A treaty is a treaty. If presidents or prime ministers or some other people feel compelled to sign declarations from the sphere of history, let them do it. But in that case the approach should be objective and balanced. Let Slovakia condemn its participation in the war against the Soviet Union. But in my opinion it is not necessary to speak about these things at all," said the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian parliament. Late last year the Supreme Soviet refused to ratify the Russian-Hungarian treaty, the preamble of which mentioned condemnation of the Soviet aggression against Hungary in 1956.

Jeszenszky, Melescanu Hold Unofficial Talks

AU2003173293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Ministers of Romania and Hungary, Teodor Melescanu and Geza Jeszenszky, held unofficial talks today in the Hungarian town of Gyula.

The talks, which lasted for about two hours, were also attended by Romania's ambassador to Budapest, Ioan Donca, and the Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest, Erno Rudas, other diplomats, and the spokesmen of the two foreign affairs ministries.

The talks concentrated both on bilateral and regional cooperation issues, including the improvement of the circulation of persons and goods through the existing border crossing points, the modernization of those points, and the possibility of opening new ones.

The two parties emphasized the importance of enlarging economic exchanges and adjusting the legislation of the countries to the requirements of modern commerce. They agreed that negotiations on the conclusion of the accord on avoiding double taxation and the mutual guaranteeing of investments should be continued. Both parties assessed that bilateral economic exchanges are lagging behind possibilities.

The two foreign affairs ministers also tackled issues related to the Romanian-Hungarian peace treaty and cooperation regarding the observance of the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia.

After having concluded their talks, the heads of the Romanian and Hungarian diplomacies made brief statements to the press.

The two political personalities then went to the Orthodox church in Gyula, next to which the ceremony of unveiling the bust of [Romanian novelist] Liviu Rebreanu took place.

During that festivity, Teodor Melescanu and Geza Jeszenszky made speeches highlighting the importance of maintaining cultural bridges between the two countries.

The Romanian and Hungarian high officials laid wreaths, after which the Romanian bishop of Arad, Timotei (?Sebici), and the vicar of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary, Pavel Ardeleanu, consecrated the monument to Liviu Rebreanu.

Commentary on Results

LD2003170293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Today's meeting between the Hungarian and Romanian foreign ministers finished without any tangible result. So much so, that Geza Jeszenszky and Theodor Melescanu did not even brief the journalists. On the basis of a briefing by Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman, our colleague reports from Gyula that there is no border problem between Hungary and Romania. What is more, according to the spokesman, this issue was given greater publicity than it deserves.

Hungary considers the peace treaty of 1947 and the other international documents regarding the borders as valid, thus the whole of the bilateral agreement has to be put in the forefront.

Our colleague Peter Marvanyi also reports that regarding the issue of the two new border crossings, Battonya and Mehkerek, practical steps are to be expected soon. However, according to the Romanians, the issue of the consulates can only be dealt with in principle for the time being.

Cooperation With Romania Viewed

LD2203105193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Yesterday the situation in Moscow was changing every hour, therefore our colleague Evelyn Forro asked for another interview with the foreign minister [Jeszesznsky]. She also asked him about the Hungarian-Romanian foreign ministers' meeting on Saturday. [passage omitted on Jeszenszky describing delicate Russian situation]

[Begin recording] [Forro] The United States, Germany, Italy, France, and Britain have assured Boris Yeltsin of their support. The Hungarian Government also supports him, because a statement was published on Tuesday and your interview yesterday referred to that, too. In your view, to what extent can international support help Yeltsin or can it help at all in such a situation?

[Jeszenszky] The statement the Hungarian Government made was very well timed. The Western statements at the weekend were made at a different time. These can only help if they are not just supporting statements but—and it was included in several stands—statements referring to action. I mean, for instance, an extraordinary meeting on how democracy can be strengthened in Russia, and not only in Russia but in the entire former communist world. So now the Western world, the whole world in fact, must at least give a very resolute and favorable perspective to Russia and to central and eastern Europe, too.

[Forro] Let us leave Russia now and take another event that was very significant from the viewpoint of Hungarian foreign policy. This past weekend you met with Romanian Foreign Minister Melescanu. How do you evaluate the meeting?

[Jeszenszky] It caused huge interest. I think the reports did not really point out what the most significant achievement was, that is, the fact that although we did not entirely ignore the disputed issues we did not concentrate on them. We concentrated on practical issues, the obvious interests of both countries, of both peoples

and of all citizens of both countries, that we should strengthen economic ties and relations between citizens, that we should eliminate the impossible situation at the border crossing points, and that we should open new border crossings. So, take a different approach, if you like. The whole Romanian-Hungarian debate was too political in nature and it is also useful to depoliticize that. This, of course, does not mean that the minority issue can be excluded or that anyone would want to exclude it. The significance of the meeting is that it is exactly here where I see the possibility of progress, alongside real practical cooperation. We supported the involvement of the Romanians in Hungary and the chairman of the Romanian association was indeed present. And it is not about what we expect in return for this, but in my view Romania, too, has accepted it now, for the Romanian Government, just as the Hungarian Government, represents every citizen. Thus the Romanian Government has to represent the Hungarians in Romania, too, and the treaty to be made must meet the interests of the Hungarians in Romania, too. [end recording]

Defense Committee Reviews Basic Principles, Cuts

AU1903142193 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 17 Mar (MTI)—Staff cuts will be needed in the Hungarian Ministry of Defense and the Command Headquarters of the Hungarian Army, as parallel elements have come about in the work of the two organizations, the Deputy Secretary of State of the Ministry of Defense Rudolf Joo, said on Wednesday.

Speaking before Parliament's Defense Committee during his hearing and eventual approval, the voting of which included one abstention, Joo stated, in his capacity as administrative secretary of state of the ministry, that the functions of the two directing organizations should be clarified, to eliminate the identical elements.

The Defense Committee then approved the defense basic principles, revised by a six-party agreement. The opposition amendment proposals made to these in the meanwhile will be discussed next week.

Following this, the committee heard a report on the international control and peace-keeping activity of the Hungarian Army.

Rudolf Joo said the Hungarian Army will increasingly have to count on being asked to fulfill international peacekeeping, possibly even peace-making tasks.

It is in Hungary's interest to participate in such activity in as great a degree as possible as this role will increase the country's international respect, Joo said. He recalled that today several small countries have become great peace-keeping powers.

Joo noted the Hungarian Army is at present prepared for such tasks only in a limited manner. In order to progress, a training center for peace-keeping forces will be set up, to train the first Hungarian peace-keeping company. The creation of a peace-making contingency could eventually be a possibility.

Solyom Reelected Chairman of Constitutional Court

LD2203120893 Budapest MTI in English 1136 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Hungary's Constitutional Court on Monday reelected Laszlo Solyom as president and Geza Herczegh as deputy president for another three-year term, Court Secretary Andras Hollo told MTI.

Their first terms expire July this year.

Ethnic Croats Want Parliamentary Representation

LD1903214893 Budapest MTI in English 1934 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—Emergence of the Federation of Hungarian Croats two and a half years ago has opened a number of new opportunities for reviving the sense of identity of ethnic Croats in Hungary, President Gyorgy Frankovics said at the federation's 2nd congress, which opened in Nagykanizsa on Friday.

He told the 186 delegates present that the Croat minority had full-scale native language education, a separate newspaper and a small theatre in Pecs. There are regular radio and television programmes in the Croat language. The federation has recently published 16 books and a Croat institute was established.

Frankovics said the federation wants to send its representative to the Hungarian Parliament.

Agnes Horvath from the National and Ethnic Minorities Office pointed out that the Hungarian Government wishes to be a negotiating partner with a unified Croat federation in all matters.

The federation has received HUF [Hungarian forints] 65 million to finance its operation, and a further HUF 17.5 million from the minority foundation.

The 2nd Congress of the Federation of Hungarian Croats will end on Saturday by amending basic regulations and electing a new supervisory committee.

Dual Citizenship With Poland, Mongolia Scrapped

LD1903183893 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—Dual citizenship will cease to exist in Hungary's relations with Poland and Mongolia. The Hungarian Government approved the

related protocols signed earlier at its Thursday meeting, spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told a press conference on Friday.

The agreement with Mongolia will come into force late next February, the spokeswoman said.

Cancellation of the accord with Czechoslovakia became unnecessary after the break up of the neighbouring country, she added.

Minister Boross Says No Room for New Immigrants

LD1903225293 Budapest MTI in English 2110 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—Hungary does not have the space needed for accepting new immigrants other than ethnic Hungarians from abroad, Hungarian Interior Minister Peter Boross told journalists at the opening of the police headquarters in Sarkad, southeast Hungary, on Friday.

In view of the newest migration of peoples, restrictions need to be introduced at Hungary's eastern borders in order to protect the security of the citizens of Hungary, Boross said.

Antall Responds to Chief Rabbi's Remarks

AU1903152593 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 17 March (MTI)—The Prime Minister's Press Office published on Wednesday [17 March], with the consent of the Israeli ambassador, the exchange of letters between the Hungarian prime minister and the Israeli ambassador in Budapest.

The exchange was due to an interview with the rabbi of Budapest, which has in turn given rise to a storm and has offended Hungary and Hungarians.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall addressed a letter to Israeli Ambassador David Kraus on March 2, 1993, and received a reply on March 10 from the ambassador, who himself is of Hungarian origin.

In his letter, the prime minister states:

"The Hungarian Government firmly strives for good relations with Israel, the success of which characterizes our entire term in office. Both the Hungarian Government, and I personally shall do everything possible for the Jewish community in Hungary to live securely amidst the framework of human and minority rights it has formulated for itself."

Antall also wrote that he considered it extremely important to analyze the racist manifestations in Hungary "which we wish to crush at birth amidst the framework of a law-governed state."

"The government and the government coalition are often called upon to distance themselves in situations when this is not expedient, and is even harmful, as it heightens the significance of the 'perpetrators.' It would be appropriate were this not to be a mere one-sided request. I am thinking of cases when articles (for instance the book entitled 'Excluding'), remarks on politicians (for example, the parliamentary contribution of Gyorgy Gado), or such shocking statements as the most recently published remarks of Budapest's Senior Rabbi, Gyorgy Landeszmann, which have harmful effects on Jewish-Hungarian relations.

"A statement like the one made by Rabbi Landeszman in the February 26 issue of the weekly HETI MAGYARORSZAG is a false statement that directly promotes anti-Semitism, and offends the Hungarian people."

In conclusion, Prime Minister Antall writes:

"I am confident that relations between the two countries, their cooperation and the commitment of the Hungarian Government on human and minority rights are sufficient guarantees for the security of Jews in Hungary. Today, when Parliament is also engaged in the range of problems of racism, and when hardly a week goes by without giving coverage to these issues, the two states, the two groups of people, and the Jewish community in Hungary are burdened with immeasurable responsibility in all manifestations."

"I shall be grateful if you are able to take appropriate steps in this matter, and I shall naturally be pleased to receive you in person."

In his reply, Israeli Ambassador David Kraus stresses: "I myself also strive to further develop the good relations which have come about as the result of considerable efforts."

Regarding the objected statement of the chief rabbi, he wrote:

"I consider it erroneous from several aspects. First, several statements by the chief rabbi do not accord with reality. Second, the tone of some of his remarks and replies is offensive. Third, remarks of a different nature are surely expected from one of the religious leaders of the Jewish community, although I must add to the explanation given by the rabbi that the nature of the questions provided an opportunity to give provocative replies."

"Having familiarized myself with the statement, and on receiving the prime minister's letter, I have done everything possible in order for Chief Rabbi Landeszmann to find the means for a correction. I hope that with the apology of the rabbi published in several newspapers, this concrete matter has been closed."

Ambassador Kraus also states: "I consider the commitment of the government you lead for the undiminished development of cooperation between the two countries

and two peoples to be of fundamental importance, and I wish to ensure you of the same commitment on the part of the state of Israel."

"I apologize to all decent Hungarians," said Budapest's Chief Rabbi Gyorgy Landeszmann, in an interview carried in the March 9 issue of the national daily NEPSZABADSAG.

The weekly HETI MAGYARORSZAG carried a full-page interview with both the acting director of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Hungary, Gusztav Zoltay, who is also a member of the executive of the European Jewish Congress, and with Chief Rabbi Gyorgy Landeszmann, entitled "Jews and Hungarians."

The interview elicited condemning statements from several sides. For instance, in answer to a question, Landeszmann had said: "If we list the contributions of Jews to Hungarian culture that would be withdrawn from Hungary, then there would be nothing left save wide, white peasant trousers and Hungarian apricot brandy."

In another part of the interview, he said: "This country will be poorer if there are no Jews. We have a place to go to."

The chief rabbi was also asked why Hungarian soldiers of the Second World War were never commemorated by Hungarian Jews.

"Because they were not martyrs of the Hungarian people. I regret that Hungarians accept them, for contrary to the current falsification of history, they fought for fascism against bolshevism in the Second World War, at which time fascism was the greater danger," he said.

Following publication of the article, Deputy Mayor of Budapest Gabor Szekely reacted on Hungarian Radio's Sunday cultural programme "Gondolatjel", aired on March 7.

He said he was reacting to the remarks also as a Jew. In his view, Landeszmann and Zoltay were not suited to "lead" the Jews in Hungary.

In an article in the March 8 issue of NEPSZABADSAG, Szekely went on to add: "We are Hungarians of Jewish origin. I do not want to make a guess as to how many people of Jewish origin live in Hungary today, but I am certain that the majority of them—a far greater part of them—do not agree with the arguments of Landeszmann and Zoltay, and protest against such views."

It was in the wake of these statements that the chief rabbi's apology appeared in the March 9 issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

The rabbi said that he felt the questions to be provocative and in turn made him nervous and react in an incorrect manner. What he actually wanted to express was that there were no pure cultures in the Hungarian cultural circle, Arab, Jewish, Slavic, and Turkish elements are found in it as integral parts.

Police Set Up New Financial Crimes Unit

AU1903143093 Budapest MTI in English 1839 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 16 Mar (MTI)—The Hungarian Police set up a new financial crimes unit on Tuesday, which it expects to produce "perceptible results, within a few months" the head of the new service, Colonel Erno Kiss, told the press in Budapest on Tuesday.

Dismantling the previous regime's fraud unit was a mistake because the new service had to be built up from scratch, Col. Kiss said.

The task of the new unit is made difficult because many financial crimes are not yet legally defined, and because an efficient bank information system, which would help trace fraud, is lacking.

According to official statistics, only 71 cases of tax fraud occured last year, as against 300 ten years ago. This suggests that many transgressions remain undetected, Col. Kiss said.

The most serious financial crimes usually have an international touch, Col. Kiss said. Some foreign capital invested in joint ventures here is of dubious origin, and "hot money" may be involved in other financial transactions, he said.

Col. Kiss said he is not opposed to the the idea of the tax office operating its own investigative force. A nationwide network of auditors has been set up, and nonpolice experts will be involved in greater numbers to trace financial crimes, he said.

Stricter Controls on Export of Nuclear Technology

LD1903184693 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—Hungary agrees to increasingly control the export of technology, installations and materials for use in nuclear purposes, government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told at her Friday briefing.

The government has amended regulations on nuclear exports accordingly, she said.

Hungary is a member of the group of nuclear suppliers, which approved guidelines for the control of dual-use products at its last session, which was held in Warsaw on March 31, 1992.

Eutelsat Relays Kossuth Radio in Hungarian

AU1903212193 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Mar 93 p 3

[MTI report: Kossuth Radio on Duna TV"]

[Text] Duna Television's experimental program can be received clearly almost throughout Europe daily between 1500 and 2100 GMT. The transmission is via the Eutelsat satellite, and a silent caption can be seen outside the broadcasting time. An agreement has been reached between Duna Television and Hungarian Radio to broadcast radio programs while the caption can be seen. The first experimental broadcast was on 15 March between 0900 and 1200 GMT, which included Kossuth Radio's festive program, and later Bartok Radio. On the other days, until the radio programming is finalized, Bartok Radio will be relayed. According to plans, the finalized program will fill the entire time slot available. Thus, Hungarians living in Europe will have a much improved information service.

Opposition Economists View Prospects, Tasks

AU1903192593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Mar 93 p 16

[Interview with Attila Karoly Soos, economic expert of the Alliance of Free Democrats; Laszlo Bekesi, economic expert of the Hungarian Socialist Party; and Mihaly Varga, economic expert of the Federation of Young Democrats, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Campaign of Smiles or Economic Growth?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Soos] I do not yet see any possibilities for economic growth this year. If there is such a possibility, it will only occur at the expense of the coming years. However, I think that we could do a lot to create better conditions. The wave of bankruptcies is slowly coming to an end and enterprises can prepare to increase production. We can also expect an improvement in that it is now possible to clean up the portfolio of the Hungarian banks. There are also more opportunities to deal with unemployment, and the increase in unemployment will be halted. People's fear of unemployment will also end and, as a result, they will begin to consume more, and this could also increase production.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Almost all the above cases require government intervention. What areas do you regard as possible for the government to intervene and in what forms?

[Soos] Under the current conditions prevailing in Hungary, I am primarily in favor of reducing government intervention, namely reducing the redistribution role of the state budget and privatization.

However, the government also has positive opportunities for intervention, in most cases, by creating conditions such as a legal framework for the increased mobilization of private capital in the area of the infrastructure. Another area for positive intervention would be to reduce legal uncertainties. State investments can also be envisaged in some areas of the infrastructure where private capital can hardly be mobilized. We can find such investment sources.

The government must play a particularly active role in reducing unemployment. [passage omitted]

[Bekesi] It is obvious that an almost permanent recession has been prevailing in Hungary for more than 10 years. We can only provide a professional answer to whether the time has come when we can and must make changes through government intervention if we precisely formulate the causes of the prevailing crisis. If the causes are still there, we can hardly formulate the conditions for development. [passage omitted]

There are only two areas in which it is possible for the government to intervene to halt the recession: In the area of a temporary artificial acceleration of the domestic market by means of cheap credits, tax benefits, state subsidies, and a further increase in the budget deficit; in other words, by means of an economic policy that will temporarily increase demand and, subsequently, will lead to economic growth. However, this would seriously upset the economic balance and would lead to a drastic deterioration in the relatively good balance position, a new wave of indebtedness, and even to insolvency in one or two years.

The other possible solution is to use resources that will indirectly increase demand on the domestic market, a demand for investment rather than for consumption. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Where do you see any possibility for government intervention?

[Varga] The government should consider secondary economic methods, rather than interfere with economic processes. By studying these methods, the government should examine the possibility of intervening in the economy without increasing the crisis.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What are these methods?

[Varga] For example, the tax system is an area in which the government has numerous means and opportunities to encourage economic ventures, develop backward areas, to carry out industrial policy, and many other ideas. For example, two years ago, we suggested a solution that would enable entrepreneurs to have their investment funds free of taxation. This could be achieved by the modification of a single law. [passage omitted]

Letter Urges Clinton To Release Jailed Poles

LD1903180593 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—One hundred Polish parliamentarians signed a letter to American President Bill Clinton calling for the release of Poles charged with violating the American law on arms dealing. Longin Pastusiak, deputy from the Democratic Left Alliance, told a press conference on Friday.

Five out of six Poles arrested in Germany in March last year had been extradited to the U.S. and will stand trial there for alleged illegal arms trading with Iraq. The parliamentarians want the American authorities to hand the accused over to the Polish judiciary.

They also appealed for not extraditing the sixth Pole, Rajmund Szwonder, who is still in a German jail due to the poor health.

The letter to the U.S. president stresses that the whole affair greatly upsets the Polish society and creates an unfavourable image of America in Poland.

Walesa Finds Russian Situation 'Very Disturbing'

LD2103235593 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2300 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] President Lech Walesa has granted an interview to the Swedish TT press agency. Asked about his evaluation of the situation in Poland after the transformations of the last few years, the president stated that our country has passed the critical point and will now, as a stable state, co-create order in Europe. The construction of full democracy and a market economy will, in the view of the president, take Poland 10 to 15 years.

Commenting on the development of Poland with the European Community, Walesa said that it is difficult to speak of balance when 90 percent of the goods in Polish shops come from the West, and there are no more than 5 percent Polish goods in the shops of Western Europe. In the opinion of the president, the Community itself would gain from Poland's membership. It continues to be difficult for Poland to compete with exceptionally efficient western industry.

The course of developments in the former Soviet Union was evaluated by Walesa as very disturbing. If Europe and the world will not understand Russia and her needs, then a revolution or civil war might ensue there, Walesa said. The president feels that his situation is comparable to the situation of Boris Yeltsin, as both countries require strong presidential power in the present phase. He said that both Yeltsin and he have, at the will of the nation, become drivers who drive in the dark along an unknown road without road signs. The difference between us is based on the fact that I am driving a small Fiat, and Yeltsin is driving an enormous truck, said the president in an interview for the Swedish TT press agency.

Finance Minister Positively Assesses U.S. Visit

LD2003023993 Warsaw PAP in English 2357 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Washington, March 19—Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski left Washington Friday after his 3-day U.S. visit saying he was pleased with President Clinton's support for Poland and its economic reforms. He revealed that the World Bank may make 1.56 billion dollars available to Poland in 1993.

The World Bank is Poland's biggest source of foreign capital, making 2.55 billion dollars available between 1990 and 1992.

Osiatynski was, however, worried about the consequences of the rejection of the government's mass privatisation programme in the Sejm (lower house) on Thursday.

He revealed that President Clinton's government had promised to continue financial aid to Poland and to facilitate the development of bilateral trade.

Osiatynski thought that the fact that he was the first minister from Central Europe to have official talks with the Clinton administration showed that relations with Poland and Poland's reforms were treated as matters of great significance by Washington.

Osiatynski maintained that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund [IMF] were pleased with the results of their cooperation with Poland. The IMF had already confirmed a four month 655 million dollar loan at the beginning of March.

Osiatynski's main worry was the Sejm vote on mass privatisation which could threaten the second part of the World Bank 450 million dollar loan for restructuring banking and freeing enterprises from debt. This is worth 115 million dollars, is due to become available in December this year but directly dependent on the mass privatisation programme getting started.

Osiatynski admitted he had no solution to this problem but said a solution had to be found by the end of the month so that the first half of the loan could be obtained before July.

Osiatynski added that the Sejm decision had "raised several questions" since Poland was seen as "the leader" among the reforming countries and suddenly it had sent the world "such a bad signal".

Nevertheless Osiatynski maintained that President Clinton's advisers had been interested in his opinions on the question of aid to Russia and on the readiness of Poland to participate in some of the United States investment initiatives in Russia.

On Poland's debt to the Western banks which were members of the club of London, Osiatynski said that Poland could not give the impression that it was seeking

the intervention of governments in negotiations which involved only one state, namely Poland itself.

There was an exchange of views on import tariffs which the Americans thought were biased against them and in favour of European Community countries, and on the protection of American intellectual property in Poland.

Osiatynski said that Poland had no need to "dump" steel in the U.S. since its labour costs were low. This was a response to the U.S. department of trade's inclusion of Poland in January on a list of 19 countries accused of dumping.

During his visit Osiatynski had met U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, the president of the "Fed" Alan Greenspan, the chair of Clinton's economic advisory council, Laura Tyson and the chair of the foreign affairs commission of the House of Representatives, Lee Hamilton.

At the IMF he spoke to IMF Executive Director Michel Camdessus and at the World Bank with members of its executive.

European Convention on Trans-border Ties Ratified

LD1903225993 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Paris, March 19—Poland has ratified the European general convention on trans-border cooperation between the communities and territorial authorities on Friday. The signed documents ratifying the treaty were handed over to the secretary general of the European Council by Poland's permanent representative to the council, Ambassador Jerzy Regulski.

The convention allows for the establishment of active trans-border cooperation with all neighbouring countries. It will facilitate relations between local and regional authorities across the borders and allow for cooperation in areas such as environmental protection, training programs for public service workers, mutual assistance in emergency situations and the establishment of international societies.

Poland is the seventeenth country to join the convention and is expected to be followed shortly by Ukraine.

Walesa Emphasizes Media Responsibility

WS2203073393 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY PREZYDENTA in Polish 1714 GMT 18 Mar 93

["President of the Republic of Poland at the Conference on Mass Media" —SERWIS INFORMACYJNY PREZYDENTA headline]

[Text] Lech Walesa, President of the Republic of Poland, took part in the second day of a working conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR). The conference began on 17 March and will end on 19 March 1993.

The subject of the symposium is a breakthrough in radio and television in Central and Eastern Europe.

President Lech Walesa delivered a speech, which we are publishing in its entirety.

"Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy that the meeting has been organized. At the beginning, however, I would like to point out that all post-communist countries, including Poland, have only won a battle and not the war. So far, we have only won the possibilities of implementation. Now the time to build is coming. Therefore, this meeting is extremely important. I hope that we will discuss how to serve this revolution, how to contribute to the reduction of time and costs that this path requires. I believe that we will bring up all these issues here.

We have gathered in the capital of a country in which a great reform had started more than a decade ago. Today we are building a new system. This is a long and complex process. In order to be successful, we must first of all change the social convictions. We must create a permanent system of values which could be a basis for us all. It is here that I see a vital role for the mass media. It is referred to as the means of social communication. Its role, however, is far more important than mere communication. It influences views, attitudes, and human behavior. The democratic system has given freedom to the mass media, but it has also created new threats.

These are the most fundamental questions that the mass media must answer today: What does freedom and independence mean, and what purpose should this freedom serve? What criteria must be met to ensure that the transformations that are headed toward a responsible freedom?

The crisis of values torments everyone these days. Europe has departed from its roots. It has departed from the Ten Commandments of rights and foundations that formed the basis of its history, culture, tradition, and greatness.

To what or to who are we responsible today? The politician is responsible to his voters, the government to the parliament, the president to the people. To who and to what is the mass media responsible? What patterns do we want to follow? We often reject the traditional values, but do not create new ones. We do not provide any moral foundations which we could lean on. I believe that the mass media representatives should try to provide an answer to those questions. The mass media is not only increasingly more modern technology, it is also a sensitive instrument for affecting the people's convictions. It is, therefore, important to question the moral code of today's mass media. The time of breakthrough is a time of chaos. Moral indicators are necessary when we are losing our way toward a responsible freedom.

You are the "fourth estate." You can command the minds and hearts of the people. You can greatly influence its fates. It is up to you which societies of Europe and the world will write the history of the 21st century. I believe that you will discuss these matters; that you will exchange opinions and share experiences. We have done much to make sure that the mass media are independent, and that the old organizational structures are broken. We have broken the state's monopoly on information. Competition on the mass media market has already begun, although it is not taking place within the framework of the law. The Sejm has recently adopted the Law on Radio and Television. The National Council of Radio and Television is being established. We are creating the legal foundations for a new order for the broadcast media. Discussions on the character of mass media are still underway: How will the new model best serve the Polish democracy; how to arrange this vital area of the public life.

I imagine that such questions are being posed not only in Poland. They also have to be answered in all places where people are trying to build democracy. I wish you fruitful sessions and a pleasurable stay in our capital."

During the discussion, the president emphasized the need to design rules that would influence professional responsibility and that would help to identify the most appropriate and most urgent problems.

According to the president, we lack not only rules, but also a vision of the future; a vision of a common Europe toward which all post-communist countries are heading. Our opinions on many phenomena are often too disparate. We need some unification rules. The situation in former Yugoslavia serves as a warning. Europe is evidently helpless in the face of the problems that were not recognized in time. The creation of a vision of a common Europe is not only a task for the politicians. It is also the task for the mass media. It is necessary to design mechanisms of averting and regulating sociopolitical situations that could cause tragedies similar to the one in Yugoslavia. The mass media can play a key role in transforming the reality. It can be either helpful or destructive. It is very important for Poland that the world know the price our country is paying for becoming a member of the European Community. This hold true for all post-communist countries that must struggle to get financial help for development. The mass media can help others appreciate what it means to be burdened with the past, and what it means to have a ruined economy.

Prior to his departure, the president encouraged the participants to develop further contacts, and to exchange ideas and experiences. He said he would be ready to take part in the discussions and answer questions: "One has to discuss much in order to understand the epoch," the president said at the end.

Court Declines Comment on UOP Regulation

LD1903181593 Warsaw PAP in English 1725 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—The first President of the Supreme Court Professor Adam Strzembosz declined to determine whether the secret instruction of UOP (State Protection Office) numbered 0015/92 is or is not compatible with the existing Polish law, the court's spokesman Krzysztof Kauba said on Friday.

Strzembosz refused to give his opinion on the issue before he could even read the instruction because, he explained in a letter to Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Internal Affairs MP Artur Balazs, who had asked for the opinion, the Supreme Court act does not allow him to evaluate the lawfulness of regulations. "This is the responsibility of the constitutional tribunal," said Krzysztof Kauba.

Controversy over the instruction was sparked by Centre Alliance (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski who contends that it allows UOP to carry out clandestine surveillance of opposition activists and organizations. Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski denied this allegation.

SDRP Calls for Early Parliamentary Elections

LD2103110893 Warsaw PAP in English 0858 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 20 [dateline as received]—Unless the present Sejm (lower house) manages to solve the vital issues of the country, including economic issues and passing of the new constitution by the end of the year, new parliamentary elections should be held in early 1994, said the leader of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) in his keynote address to the party congress which opened here Saturday.

According to Aleksander Kwasniewski, the new Sejm would create conditions for setting up an efficient centre-left government enjoying broad public support.

In his spech Kwasniewski stressed that SDRP managed to preserve unity and was in no danger of a split.

The congress heard a letter from President Lech Walesa delivered by Lech Falandysz, deputy head of the Presidential Chancellery. The president wrote he expected the congress delegates to be able to make a reckoning with the past of their movement, separating what had been wrong from what could be helpful in the present time. "This is a difficult but necessary task," he added, "because it has to do with sharing the responsibility for Poland."

The 2nd SDRP congress is attended by 300 delegates and foreign guests representing leftist movements from the neighbouring countries and social democratic parties of Western Europe.

On Saturday the meeting adopted two appeals, one addressed to Polish left-wing groups and calling for a

united leftist bloc capable of confronting the right-wing parties, the other addressed to the Socialist International and stressing that SDRP adhered to this organization's values and programme.

Late at night the congress began electing new party authorities.

Sejm Rejects Draft Constitutional Amendments

LD2003194593 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—The Sejm (lower house) on Saturday [20 March] rejected draft amendments to the Constitution linked to the new electoral law now discussed by the extraordinary committee. The amendments proposed that deputies could not simultaneously hold ministerial posts, that the domicile requirement for those running in parliamentary elections be made less stringent, and that the length of election campaign be shortened in cases when it follows the dissolution of the chamber. The vote was 171 to 133 with 13 abstentions in favour of the rejection.

The discussion on the draft electoral law will be continued in 10 days' time.

Most deputies who took the floor Saturday in a debate on the government draft guidelines of housing policy were critical of the document, terming it is vague, too general, lacking financial forecast. The discussion will be continued on 31 March.

The sejm passed a new building procedures act on Saturday which significantly simplifies formalities connected with building permits. The main aim of the law is to halt proliferation of illegal building projects.

Sejm speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski did not confirm or reject TV reports saying he had received a formal motion from the prosecutor general asking for stripping Antoni Macierewicz, MP, from statutory immunity from prosecution. The motion is allegedly linked to Macierewicz's activities as the interior minister in June, 1992.

The speaker was far more vocal in the chamber when he reprimanded one of the deputies for proceeding with her speech despite his closing of the discussion. The speaker later apologized to the deputy, Wieslawa Ziolkowska of the Union of Labour, saying he had acted under stress. A reprimand can be given only by the sejm Standing Orders Committee.

Press Official Comments on Referendum Proposal

LD2203115293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Commenting on the statement made yesterday by Minister Jan Maria Rokita, Jacek Kozlowski, director of the Government's Press Office, said this morning that the idea of a national referendum could only be viewed as a distant perspective.

[Begin Kozlowski recording] I believe that it is a political decision of fundamental importance and I think that it is too early for us to (?envision it) today. Minister Rokita talked spoke about this idea yesterday and speculated about the possibility of such a referendum. Especially since the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers [Rokita] did not define the essentials for a referendum, that is what we should be asking the people. [sentence as heard] I think that this matter will also be a subject of discussion at the government meeting. [end recording]

Privatization Plan To Be Revised, Resubmitted

LD1903185293 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—The Thursday sejm rejection of the mass privatization programme is "a serious step backward, seriously halting the long prepared reform," Hanna Suchocka's press secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski told "Radio Free Europe" on Friday.

He said the government is determined and will not give up the privatization programme. "A draft, slightly different than the present programme, will shortly go to the sejm for an urgent vote."

Milewski added that "the Jan Olszewski government approved the programme principles while parties which had participated in his cabinet decided to vote against the programme yesterday." He pointed to the lack of unanimity in votes cast by the Christian National Union (ZCHN) parliamentary floor group which, in his opinion, indicates a permanent difference of opinions within the floor group.

He warned that the programme rejection may hinder the cooperation with international financial organizations and slightly impair the recently improved image of Poland.

Walesa Pledges Support for Farmers, Agriculture

LD2203135293 Warsaw PAP in English 1340 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—"We hear frequently about casual treatment of the Polish farmer, and of misperceptions [word as received] of his problems: It is time to change that." President Lech Walesa said on Monday, at the opening of a plenary session of the Presidential Council for the Polish Countryside and Agriculture in Warsaw.

The most important complaint from rural communities "is the lack of a thought-out and effective government policy, particularly in relation to agricultural credits," the president told his audience. He also attacked the trade barriers preventing Polish agriculture from penetrating Western markets.

President Walesa observed that the free market cannot resolve all problems, especially in agriculture. After three

years experience of reform, we know in all certainty that agriculture needs defending and supporting, he said.

Opening the proceedings, the Councils Chairman Professor Jan Gorecki said that it was only because two-thirds of agricultural land was in the hands of private farmers that the rural economy has been able to survive "the free-market shock." He called for a reorientation of policy towards greater state intervention and protectionism.

President Expresses Support for Economic Reforms

LD2203120493 Warsaw PAP in English 1147 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—President Lech Walesa on Monday declared his firm support for action to strengthen the process of reform in Poland, at a meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski at the official presidential residence.

During the meeting, Goryszewski explained to the president the course of events which led to the rejection of the government's mass privatisation programme by the Sejm (lower house) last week. President Walesa stressed his support for reform in Poland, and in particular for the direction of reform proposed by the Economic Committee of the cabinet.

Letter of Intent To Build Gas Pipeline Signed

LD1903175293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Poland and Russia have signed a letter of intent on a contract to build a gas pipeline from Russia to Poland to Germany. The value of the investment will be about $10 billion and in Poland it will be over $3 billion. Trade and Industry Minister Waclaw Niewiarowski has described this event as the European contract of the century. The gas pipeline will be about 4,000 kilometers long. In Poland, it will run from the border near Bialystok and will cross the border with Germany near Slubice and Frankfurt/Oder.

Status of Compensation Request To Russia Update

LD2003184993 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—The postulate of Russian compensations for Poles who suffered as a result of totalitarian actions by the Soviet regime has been raised several times by the Polish Foreign Ministry, but so far without success, writes Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in reply to a letter sent to him last February 11 by the ombudsman, Professor Tadeusz Zielinski.

Skubiszewski first raised the matter in October, 1989 when he held talks with the then Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The matter was raised again by President Lech Walesa during his visit to Moscow in May, 1992 and then in correspondence with President Boris Yeltsin. "The talks have been very difficult and so far failed to produce positive effects," Skubiszewski reports in his reply to the ombudsman.

Poland does not recognize the Russian position that Russia holds no responsibility for the Stalinist crimes which affected foreign nationals and states. The Foreign Ministry is working on another request for compensations for Polish citizens to be addressed to Russia, Skubiszewski informs the ombudsman.

Iliescu Terms Censure Motion 'Political Game'

AU1903131293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0803 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/3/1993—"The introduction in the Parliament by the opposition of the no-confidence motion on the government program is a democratic exercise of the opposition," says Romanian President Ion Iliescu in an interview with daily TINERETUL LIBER. He however assesses that "the opposition would not want to take over the power today." It is rather difficult now, he says, adding that the current period is difficult, so he does not believe that all those who have signed the motion would be able to assume responsibility now. President Iliescu does not believe that this is what lays behind the motion. It has been advanced, he thinks, merely "in order to mark, according to their own explanations, this disjoining [disapproval] of the opposition from the government's program." Actually, the head of state adds, those who have signed the motion and who are opposing did not even vote [for] this government. "Their opposition is not new, this stand of the opposition on the Vacaroiu Government was expressed back in November 1992, when the cabinet was voted. So, it is the same people that did it three months ago, are doing it now, and will do it again in a few months, when they will be interested to. This is the political game," Ion Iliescu asserts.

The head of state says that the program proposed by the Vacaroiu government is "very extensive but still perfectible. "It is for the first time now," the president says, "that Parliament and Romanian public opinion are presented such a comprehensive study that sketches all components of the program of economic reform and of transition to the market economy also comprising concrete elements."

Referring to the talks he has recently had with leaders of political parties, Ion Iliescu says: "Everybody has agreed that the Government has to be allowed now to continue its activity. Frequent changes of government are never wholesome, they only render the whole legislative process and the executive's routine activity more difficult, so this is not what the country needs now."

Parliament Joint Session Debates Censure Motion

AU1903142993

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0850 GMT on 19 March carries a live relay from Parliament in Bucharest of a joint Parliament session to debate the censure motion put forward by the opposition against Prime Minister Vacaroiu's reform strategy. In the chair is Senate President Oliviu Gherman. According to reporter Dionisie Sincan, the motion needs 242 votes to succeed.

Chairman Gherman opens the session, with 381 senators and deputies present, including Prime Minister Vacaroiu and other members of government; 103 are absent.

After the representative of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party reads out the motion, Vacaroiu takes the floor and, in a 19-minute speech, defends his economic reform strategy.

This is followed by general debate. Dan Martian of the Democratic National Salvation Front criticizes the censure motion against the government's program; Ion Diaconescu of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party stresses the importance of the censure motion in Romania's economic progress, because the program does not inspire confidence.

Next, the floor is taken by Senator Eugen Dijmarescu of the National Salvation Front, who discusses social security, wages, and pension issues, and he is followed by Senator Teodor Ardeleanu of the Romanian National Unity Party who wants the government to recognize the role of the opposition.

Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor of the Romania Mare Party then harshly criticizes the censure motion, the aims it pursues, and "certain foreign forces trying to destabilize Romania." He also accuses the Democratic Union of Hungarians of signing joint documents with Hungary in connection with Transylvania. He then proceeds to criticize Romania's former king. At this point interjections and commotion in the hall interrupt the speaker.

According to the reporter, half of the opposition senators and deputies leave the hall. Then, Oliviu Gherman announces that the meeting will adjourn for 15 minutes.

At 0834 GMT, when the session resumes, Gherman asks speakers to refer only to the censure motion. Parliamentarians of various political parties continue to take the floor.

The opponents of the censure motion—the Democratic National Salvation Front, the Romanian National Unity Party, the Socialist Party of Labor, the Greater Romania Party, the Democratic Agrarian Party, the Ukrainians' Union of Romania, and the Democratic Union of Turks of Romania—give reasons why they object to the motion presented by the opposition. They emphasize the fact that, when presenting the motion, the opposition did not present a program of its own that would allow for a convincing comparison with the strategy and program presented by Premier Vacaroiu. Those who object to the motion maintain that the opposition had tried to distort the Romanian economic, political, and social realities in order to shake uninformed people's confidence in the government and thus take power. All opponents of the motion express the view that the current government should continue its activity so as to be able to overcome the serious difficulties facing Romania.

The censure motion signatories—the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, the National Salvation Front, the Ecological Party of Romania, the Civic Alliance Party, and the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention—give reasons why they have resorted to the

censure motion. The major accusation voiced was that the document presented by Nicolae Vacaroiu a week ago is not a program but a report on the strategy for the remote future instead of a program for the present and the near future that should provide the purposes and means of attaining all targets.

National Salvation Front Representative Adrian Severin views the poor performance of the government and the weaknesses of the program as the main causes of the no-confidence motion.

At 1212 GMT Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu begins answering questions raised by Corneliu Vadim Tudor and Petre Roman. He then continues to defend his program strategy by referring to financial blockage, unemployment, the budget, subsidies, and minorities issues. In connection with criticism by the ecologists, he admits that "very little has been done in the environment area." After stressing that the government proposes to "keep fiscal taxes at the lowest level," he discusses taxes and tax evasion issues, and criticizes the opposition for not coming up with any "constructive" proposals. In connection with the elimination of subsidies on 1 May, Vacaroiu says that "this will be a difficult moment," stresses that there will be "100 percent compensations," and pleads for "understanding from everybody" in this respect, so as to get through the transition period, which can be "overcome only through hard work."

Censure Motion Rejected

AU1903144793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Announcement by Romanian Senate Chairman Oliviu Gherman in Parliament in Bucharest—live]

[Text] I will now read the official report on the results of the vote by senators and chamber of deputy members on the censure motion initiated according to Article 112 of Romania's Constitution by 122 parliamentarians:

The standing bureaus of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, in their joint session on 19 March 1993 have checked and counted the votes cast by secret ballot by senators and chamber of deputy members with respect to the censure motion initiated according to Article 112 of Romania's Constitution, by 122 parliamentarians, and the results were as follows:
The total number of senators and chamber of deputy members present: 484.
The total number of votes: 453.
Number of votes favoring the censure motion: 192.
Number of votes against the censure motion: 260.
Number of annulled votes: 1.

The standing bureaus of the two parliament chambers have examined the request of [National Liberal Party] deputy Teodora Bertzi that her vote favoring the censure motion—which she handed in previously in writing, as she is currently abroad—should be taken into consideration. Considering the provisions of Article 32 regulating the joint sessions of Parliament's standing bureaus, which says that the parliamentarians' vote should be personal, direct, and secret, without mentioning the possibility of casting votes in writing, the standing bureaus of the parliament chambers did not take Deputy Bertzi's vote into consideration.

According to Paragraph 1 of Article 112 of Romania's Constitution—which says that a censure motion is to be adopted if the majority of votes cast by senators and deputies endorse it—it takes at least 243 votes for the censure motion to be adopted by Parliament.

Considering that of the total number of 484 parliamentarians 192 have voted in favor of adopting the censure motion while 260 have voted against it, while one vote has been annulled, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate finds that the necessary majority for the adoption of the censure motion has not been met.

The report is signed by the standing bureaus of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, in Bucharest, on 19 March 1993.

Vacaroiu On Motion's Failure

AU1903192693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/3/1993—Upon hearing that the Romanian Parliament had voted against the censure motion, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu opined that the dispute over its programme helped the government come out reinforced judging by the "score" of the ballot which showed that even part of the opposition members voted for it. He found this as a normal reaction of those who, signing the motion, were aware that they could not have advanced a viable alternative. The prime minister was of the opinion that the opposition was unable to sustain its own stance and that by blaming the government of having done absolutely nothing so far they only made it more obvious that their thirst for political power was the sole motivation of their move.

Opposition on Motion Rejection

AU1903204693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Here are several reactions after the censure motion against the Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's economic reform strategy was rejected in Parliament, today.

Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], said, quote: At the moment we initiated the motion, we were aware of the 53 percent majority of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] and its allies—the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], the Romania Mare Party [PRM], the

Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]—in Romania's Parliament. Therefore, nobody considered that the censure motion vote was motivated by a practical goal. It was rather a moral gesture, aimed at showing the opposition's dissociation from a program without solutions and means of implementation. Now, we have the moral status to amend the country's budget, which is an expression of this strategy-program, to the benefit of the population. In our parliamentary activities we will continue to keep the public informed, and we hope the public will finally wake up after it experiences for itself the experiment suggested by Cotroceni Palace [the presidential residence] and implemented by the Vacaroiu government.

In his turn, Mr. Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], said, according to ROMPRES, quote: The debates revealed that the main purpose of the FDSN and its allies is to support their own power, including the government. Mr. Petre Roman also said: Concerning the FSN criticism of the government program and the solutions suggested by the FSN, there has been almost no reply whatsoever.

Concerning the rejection of the censure motion, Mr. Horia Rusu, executive president of the Liberal Party [PL] said the following: Anyway, this country's people now know that we have a government supported by extremist forces and that the democratic opposition is always an alternative, with its own way toward a prosperous society, that differs from the current power's road.

Mr. Ioan Gavra from PUNR, vice president of the Senate, said, quote: The seriousness of certain claims in the motion's text exceed the limit of credibility and validity in politics; the respective claims actually apply to the Petre Roman and Theodor Stolojan cabinets.

We welcome the triumph of the healthy political forces in Parliament, which today rejected the censure motion, thus permitting the government to proceed with its work, Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, PRM president said at a news conference today. He added, quote: We informed the government that, if it does not take the country out of the current crisis, we, who voted for it, will bring it down.

Dailies on Rejection

AU2003165993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1222 GMT 20 Mar 93

[From the Romanian press review of 20 March]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1993—The newspapers put out in Bucharest on 20 March give extensive space to the vote in Parliament on the motion of censure introduced by opposition parliamentarians against the Vacaroiu cabinet. Commenting on Parliament's rejection of the motion, daily DIMINEATA writes: "It was for once more that the will of the Romanian people was proved to continue reform and to overcome transition to a market economy at reasonable social costs. It was also proved that confidence in the present government is a sign of normality which starts taking its place in our political life."

"As expected, the motion of censure was rejected. The Vacaroiu cabinet have passed this hard test and can further its activity. Parliament gave its vote. Those who voted in favor of the motion might consider that they have made a mistake. But it is precisely this purism of the opposition which we respect, which we cannot but criticize, that has done a fatal error," [sentence as received] writes the newspaper TINERETUL LIBER.

Daily ROMANIA LIBERA shows: "We have to notice that, whatever the result, the opposition has come out for the first time with a radical gesture: a motion of censure. It is not a proof of an unconstructive opposition, but the exercise of a constitutional right, fully motivated. Whatever the divergencies over the moment chosen by the opposition to introduce a motion, the results showed, however, the victory of a thin resistance of the party's directive in front of arguments and of common sense."

In the opinion of daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI "none of the two opposed forces wanted the motion adopted. The parliamentary majority had obvious reasons. The opposition, because it did not intend to overthrow the government. That would have meant the taking of power, and the opposition, at least the one represented by the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party, has no interest in such an issue. The burden on the government's shoulders, whatever its name, is unimaginable."

The ratio between the votes—260 against the motion and 192 for it, from a total of 453—which was quite similar to the one at the beginning of the mandate, writes daily ADEVARUL, proves that no change has taken place on the plane of political forces. Even if debates were carried for several hours, the opposition did not succeed in gaining important audience on the part of the coalition. Neither the opposite. Political waters are still continuing to be clearly divided."

"In a country which has suffered serious economic ills, our parliamentarians believe that 'the medicine' to heal must be made up of political essence. But it is not politics that one expects from the government and Parliament, even if, as things are going on in today's Romania, politics polarizes all energies. If the statements made by the speakers on that day were not false, wherever they came from, the energy would have to be directed to finding solutions to real questions confronting our country," writes daily CURIERUL NATIONAL.

Referring to the debates over the motion, daily AZI notes that "they have mostly proved ridiculous and entered a shallow settling of accounts or just an ordinary thinking."

Iliescu Criticized for Seizing Too Much Power

AU1903210993 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Mar 93 p 1

[Gilda Lazar article "The Institutionalized Man"]

[Text] I do not know how many of us are actually aware that, from a certain point of view, we are going through a similar time to 1989. Everything is in Mr. Iliescu's hands: The Supreme Defense Council (interior affairs, the Army), foreign affairs, justice, and even the National Bank. All roads are leading to Cotroceni [the seat of the presidency] and if, against all reason, the president fell, a major collapse would take place: the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] would fall, as would the government; the foundation for foreign relations (from Moscow to NATO headquarters) would disintegrate, the activity of the newly created or readjusted major institutions, which—without any exception—have links with the president and where his most faithful people were systematically placed—the Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Justice Court, the Magistrate's Higher Council, the Court of Accounts, and the Constitutional Court—would collapse. The hard currency, monetary, and fiscal policy, the government program, the political parties, the presidency of the two parliamentary chambers, that is "everything that moves in this country," moves only with Mr. Iliescu's knowledge. He has chosen a prime minister who cannot eclipse him as the previous ones did and thus he is "number one" in everything. Maybe soon we will again walk across Victory Square, many of us not knowing any more who is prime minister, foreign minister, or whether the given institution is called government or council of ministers. As a matter of fact, the new structure of the Romanian Government and of its working apparatus (in accordance with Government Decision No. 860/1992) entitles us to affirm that the entire control of power in this institution is concentrated in the General Secretariat, that is a sort of supergovernment headed by the former chief of the presidential election campaign, Mr. Viorel Hrebenciuc. This includes local public administration with Mr. Octavian Cosmanca at the helm, and it includes the Public Relations Directorates; the government's General Secretariat also coordinates the National Informational System, the National Statistics Commission, and officially examines—from a legal and, probably, from other points of view—draft laws, ordinances, and government decisions with the purpose of promoting them in government meetings, and it edits the prime minister's decisions, ensures the publication of laws in the MONITORUL OFICIAL, keeps records of secret documents, and so forth. What is left of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, whose structure—initially presented by Mr. Misu Negritoiu—gave the impression of a superministry, is only a department for economic reform and a directorate for social reform, the latter being headed by former presidential counselor Vladimir Pasti. A government spokesman does not even exist in the official structure of the executive power. The communications and relations with the press are channeled in the direction of Cotroceni centering on Mr. Chebeleu and thus the president. Not only the government team, but the government itself has become a presidential institution. Under these circumstances, the separation of powers in the state is becoming, with every passing day, a beautiful dream, which is replaced "in actual fact" by a reality which we hoped to get rid of in 1989: the institutionalized man.

Roman Urges Open Support for Democracy in Russia

AU2103204793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Statement by National Salvation Front Leader Petre Roman; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] I think that the current situation in Moscow very much resembles the one during the coup attempt on 19 August 1991. [passage omitted]

Taking Romania's national interests into consideration—both historical, but also current ones, namely our wish to continue the democratization process and completely do away with our totalitarian past—in my opinion, our country should openly support the [Russian] democratic process and the persons and forces favoring democracy. What we most need from Russia is that it should be our democratic partner, otherwise our country could be in trouble, as history has shown us so many times. We should not forget our recent past either.

I believe that this is the political stand we should adopt with respect to what is currently happening in Russia.

CDR Expresses 'Firm Support'

AU2203091093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] A fax received from the Democratic Convention of Romania and signed by Mr. Emil Constantinescu expresses particular concern regarding recent political developments in Russia and emphasizes that, although a return to the former totalitarian communist regime is no longer possible, an attempt to restore it would be very costly not only for Russia, but the entire world.

The political parties and formations within the Democratic Convention express firm support for the democratic forces in Russia who want to continue the economic reform and to establish a genuine Western-type democracy for all citizens of Russia for whom the future of their country cannot be conceived of as other than in the spirit of a united and free Europe.

Melescanu Returns From London, Makes Statements

AU1903121793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/3/1993—Coming back Thursday, March 18 from his visit to London, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu declared himself "extremely satisfied with the results of the talks."

"I consider this visit as very important," he said, "because by signing the agreement for Romania's association to the Common Market we intended to double diplomatic efforts with countries of the community by bilateral contacts. After the visits to Germany and London there will be another one to Rome. We are thus trying to use the positive effects of the agreement's signing and of the Romanian president's visit to NATO."

"I was pleased by the desire evinced by the British side that the dialogue between Romania and the Western countries be accelerated and take place at much more important political levels. I asked that Romania's role and importance in the context of the developments in Yugoslavia and the Russian Federation be recognized not only during these moments of crisis, so our country may play the role of stabilizing factor in the area," Minister Melescanu also said.

As for his meeting with EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] high officials the Romanian minister said its purpose had been to set forth a summary of the governing strategy's main targets.

"The idea of the effort intended by the government towards launching investments in infrastructure was very well received. We were assured that a study would be drawn up to find the way EBRD can set up a branch in Romania to grant financial support for various projects" Minister Melescanu concluded.

Danube Accord, Embargo Discrepancy Viewed

AU1903133293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0809 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/3/1993—Bucharest authorities are requesting "instructions" from the UN Security Council's Committee for Sanctions regarding Serbia's claim for free navigation of its ships on the Danube River's part marking its border with Romania, said the spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dan Mircea Geoana, in a statement made for FRANCE PRESSE [AFP].

The Danube Convention and a bilateral agreement concluded with ex-Yugoslavia on the event of plans to build the Iron Gates II lock, stipulate Romania's commitment to grant the Serbian ships on the Danube coasting permission, said the spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also mentioned that "the UN Security Council has already made clear that its decisions are taking pre-eminence over any bilateral or international agreement."

On the other hand, Geoana showed that Romania has agreed in principle on "the Western European Union's plans to send fast boats on the Danube for imposing the embargo over Belgrade. A final answer to this issue will be formulated only after consultations with Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Hungary," said the Foreign Ministry's spokesman. He also added that "only a unitary answer on the part of the three riveran [river-side] states could grant efficiency to such a plan."

Stressing their will to firmly observe the economic embargo imposed in 1992 by the UN against the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Romanian authorities have permanently wanted to preserve their traditional relations of good neighborhood with Serbia, writes the agency FRANCE PRESSE.

Initiative To Solve Yugoslav Conflict Viewed

AU1903165393 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Mar 93 p 10

[Irina Zidaru article "Details About Romania's Peace Initiative in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] In an interview granted yesterday morning, 15 March, the Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, discussed the Romanian initiative aimed at solving the conflict in Yugoslavia. From diplomatic sources in Bucharest, we learned that what he was talking about was the integration of the former Yugoslav republics into an expanded Balkan zone. For this purpose, consultations have begun with Greece and Turkey, two states which are interested in the development of the conflict in the Balkans and whose ministers of foreign affairs visited Romania last month.

The Romanian initiative is to follow the application of the Vance-Owen peace plan and also to clarify the economic and political status of the small republics, which are unable to exist as independent states. Thus, the states which launched this initiative will not plead for a division of the spheres of influence on the basis of religious or ideological criteria. Viewed as being favored by the Vance-Owen peace plan, the Croats, with 17 percent of the Bosnian population, should guarantee the rights and freedoms of the Serbs in Croatia; 63.4 percent of the Bosnian Croats should live in the provinces with a Croatian majority; thus they would occupy 25.4 percent of Bosnia's territory.

Yesterday, 15 March, after the first round of talks with Mr. Zdenko Skrabalo, Croatian foreign minister, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, Romania's diplomacy chief, stated that "Romania has no specific interests; it only desires relations with the former Yugoslav states." "The Vance-Owen peace plan will be adopted," he added, without giving any details on Romania's peace initiative linked to the discussions held with Mr. Zdenko Skrabalo or

other Balkan foreign ministers. "We do not pursue to restore—through a system of relations—the area of the former Yugoslav Federation. That is not possible. However, these independent states have to be supported by the Balkan countries as much as possible."

According to diplomatic sources, the success of this initiative depends on the acceptance and application of the Vance-Owen peace plan. If that is not the case, the expansion of the conflict would lead to the breakup of the joint coordination efforts of the three states—Romania, Turkey, and Greece—and to greater tension between Greece and Turkey. Ankara would probably attempt to solve the crisis through unilateral military intervention in order to support the Muslim population.

Tokes's Statements Seen as 'Political Stand'

AU1903213593 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 15 Mar 93 p 3

[Ralu Filip article: "The UDMR Radical Wing Jumps in Support of Laszlo Tokes and Calls Senator Attila Verestoy to Account"]

[Text] On Saturday's [13 March] evening television program with the so-called top political commentators, which are far from being credible and just as far from being actually the top political commentators, a distinguished chief editor of a Bucharest daily addressed the viewers. Our colleague caused all Romanians, including the press, to prick up their ears, by accusing them of "having hit the ceiling" at the declarations made by Laszlo Tokes in the United States and Budapest. The respective chief editor expressed the belief that Tokes matters only in Romania. Certainly, this can also be an opinion, but we do not believe that we could attribute it to a genuine political commentator. Here is the reason why:

"The UDMR's [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Executive Committee of Initiative for the platform of national and Christian orientation of Hungarians in Transylvania, in complete unity, assures Laszlo Tokes of its full support. The Christian orientation platform has issued this communique because it believes that Senator Attila Verestoy, who is part of the UDMR leadership, publicly disproved Laszlo Tokes' statements regarding the endangered situation of the Hungarians in Romania. The platform calls on the UDMR's National Ethics Commission to investigate and examine everything that proves previous similar delimitations, as well as the attitude manifested by Senator Attila Verestoy."

Therefore, Laszlo Tokes' statements do not have a personal meaning, but, through this communique issued by the Budapest Duna TV, they are assumed also by a part of the UDMR. In other words, we cannot talk about an individual case but rather about a political stand.

Record Quantity of Drugs Seized at Airport

AU1903152793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1324 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1993—Officers of the Romanian Customs General Directorate discovered and seized Wednesday, March 17, the biggest quantity of drugs ever recorded in Romanian history, writes daily newspaper EVENIMENTUL ZILEI quoting sources of the Otopeni Airport customs.

The officers there captured 100 kilograms of pure cocaine come from Venezuela by plane. The drug squad of the General Police Inspectorate (IGP) was immediately informed and arrested the three people for whom the merchandise had been intended.

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI writes that informed sources in the IGP said that on March 18 the rest of the smugglers' organization in the territory was arrested as well.

Morillon Says UN Troops Will Protect Srebrenica

AU2203114193 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Velika Reka, Yugoslavia, March 22 (AFP)—General Philippe Morillon, the commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Monday [22 March] he will deploy about 100 troops in Srebrenica to prevent the town from falling to Serb forces.

Passing through this west Serb town on his way back to Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, Morillon told AFP late Sunday that he planned to arrange a ceasefire for the Moslem enclave with Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic Monday.

"The Serbs must forget about conquering Srebrenica," Morillon said, "and they are beginning to understand that."

The general also confirmed that a U.N. convoy would leave Tuzla Monday with all those Serbs who wished to leave the northeastern town in Moslem hands.

Bosnian Serb forces had claimed that Serbs were being held against their will in Tuzla.

The general said he had been assured by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic that his government would allow the free movement of the country's Serb, Croat and Moslem peoples.

It is understood that the right for Serbs to leave Tuzla was demanded by Mladic in return for Bosnian Serb forces' allowing a U.N. aid convoy to reach Srebrenica Friday and evacuate the wounded the next day.

Morillon said that after arranging "a real ceasefire" with Mladic, whose forces are no more than four kilometres (3 miles) from Srebrenica town, he would send in about 100 U.N. troops to establish a demilitarised zone around the enclave.

"If there had been a catastrophe at Srebrenica, all chance of peace (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) would have evaporated," Morillon said, referring to his decision to base himself in the town 13 days ago when thousands of Moslem refugees surrounded his vehicle in panic about the advancing Serb forces.

"That is why I have stayed there, not for glory or bravado," he added. The general had been criticised by unidentified British U.N. troops in Bosnia for seeking the limelight.

Morillon disclosed that he will attend Monday a memorial service in Bratunac, a Serb-held town 15 kilometres (10 miles) outside Srebrenica, for mutilated Serbs who were found in a local mass grave, apparently victims of a massacre.

Recalling that one of the motives for the current Serb offensive in east Bosnia was to take revenge on the perpetrators of massacres, Morillon said that the Serbs need to feel "that they are not the only ones to have committed atrocities".

Warns Serbs Against Takeover

AU2103183093 Paris AFP in English 1809 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 21 (AFP)—U.N. Commander General Philippe Morillon warned here Sunday [21 March] that a Serb military victory at the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia would be "a political and diplomatic disaster".

The general issued the warning as two U.N. helicopters piloted by French crews arrived at the Dubrava airstrip near here on a test-flight designed to open up an air-corridor to the Moslem-held town in the northeast of the republic.

"The time has come for peace. Peace, peace, peace—it's what the whole population of this country wants. We've told the Serbs to show that they want it", Morillon told reporters during a half-hour stay here.

He flew in from Srebrenica to negotiate with Moslem leaders in Tuzla to allow Serbs who wished to leave to do so, a condition set by the Bosnian Serbs when their leaders agreed to allow a second aid convoy through to Srebrenica.

The authorities in Tuzla regard the presence of Serbs in the town as a vital illustration of their belief that the different communities can live peacefully side by side.

However the Tuzla Serbs have been suffering from the harsh conditions created by the siege of the town by Serb insurgents.

Morillon said the Serbs "have to understand thats a military victory in the Srebrenica region would be politically and diplomatically a disaster".

On Saturday's evacuation of more than 500 refugees and 100 wounded people from Srebrenica, Morillon said the operation was "a first step that had to be taken.... The process is now under way".

As he prepared to return to Srebrenica, Morillon said he would remain there "for as long as I'm convinced that the population is not safe without my presence, until United Nations observers are deployed, a matter of two or three days".

On his way to Tuzla Morillon met Bosnian Serb military leader General Ratko Mladic in the Serb-held village of Bratunac, 15 kilometers (nine miles) from Srebrenica.

Bosnian Serb military leaders said they would allow no more civilian evacuations from Srebrenica as long as Tuzla Serbs, whom they did not identify, were not allowed to leave the town.

Meanwhile two U.N. helicopters escorted by four combat helicopters arrived here from Split, on the south Croatian coast, on a test-flight that could lead to the opening of an air-corridor to Tuzla.

The airlift would be used to fly in aid to eastern Bosnia where thousands of Moslems in besieged enclaves are in danger of starvation.

U.N. representatives are negotiating with the Serb forces who dominate the hills around Dubrava to be allowed to land fixed-wing transport aircraft on the strip, a U.N. spokesman told AFP in Zagreb.

Such landings would significantly increase the amount of aid the United Nations could deliver to Tuzla. At present the town is supplied only by truck convoys which wind their way up along barely passable mountain roads and are subject to delays caused by fighting and hostile local Serb commanders.

At Mali Zvornik, just over the Drina River inside Serbia and about 60 kilometres (35 miles) from Srebrenica, a U.N. convoy bearing 250 tonnes of food for the besieged enclave was blocked for the second day in a row.

The Bosnian Serbs demanded that half the food be taken to Bratunac, while U.N. officials have so far agreed to send only two trucks there.

Three U.S. military Hercules C-130 transport planes dropped 16.8 tonnes of food over Srebrenica.

A French plane bearing medical supplies for Bosnia left Paris Sunday for Belgrade. Paris has informed the United Nations that it is prepared to supply helicopters for the evacuation of wounded from eastern Bosnia.

Convoy Blocked by Serbs

LD2103162793 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1500 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Ethnic Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina have blocked an attempt by the United Nations to get a further relief convoy through to the besieged Muslim town of Srebrenica.

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] said the convoy, accompanied by French doctors, was being blocked on the Serbian border with Bosnia. Serbian forces had threatened to prevent further convoys reaching Srebrenica after accusing the UN of exceeding an agreement on the number of people evacuated on Saturday [20 March].

The UN Commander in Bosnia, Gen. Philippe Morillon, is reported to be meeting Serbian officials to discuss the issue and an agreement to evacuate sick and wounded civilians by helicopter.

One of the international mediators, Lord Owen, said agreement on a helicopter evacuation was reached after meeting Bosnia's Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, at peace talks in New York.

Convoy Rerouted To Srebrenica

LD2103143993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1419 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—A UNHCR [Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] convoy with humanitarian supplies for Gorazde in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been waiting for permission to proceed towards the Romanija area since Friday [19 March], will be rerouted to Srebrenica further up north, Laurence Jolles of the Belgrade UNHCR office told TANJUG on Sunday.

According to Jolles, the convoy has returned to Mali Zvornik in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia where it is now waiting for permission from the authorities of the Bosnian Serb Republic to head for Srebrenica.

The UNHCR official could not say whether the permission was made conditional on the evacuation of Serbs from Moslem-controlled Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Under an agreement reached between the U.N. commander in Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, and Chief of the General Staff of the Bosnian Serb Army General Manojlo Milovanovic, the Serbs detained in Tuzla should have been evacuated to nearby Sekovici in return for the evacuation of the wounded Moslems from Srebrenica.

A 18-truck U.N. convoy brought 673 Moslem evacuees from Srebrenica to Tuzla on Saturday, REUTERS quotes U.N. Colonel Wouter van Dijk as saying. Van Dijk told reporters in Mali Zvornik that 100 wounded people were among the Moslem refugees from Srebrenica. Under the original plan, only the wounded and the sick were to be evacuated. Van Dijk estimated there were between 20,000 and 25,000 people in Srebrenica. Earlier reports spoke of 60,000 people stranded in that town.

The office of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Belgrade on Saturday asked the Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia to provide hospital treatment for a group of the wounded and sick from Srebrenica, the Serbian Information Ministry said on Saturday evening.

"The government and the citizens of Serbia [words indistinct] maximum effort to help all refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and will continue to do so as long as necessary," the ministry said in a statement.

The government of Serbia believes that ICRC officials will take all the necessary measures to enable the sick Bosnian Serbs to leave the Moslem-controlled areas, it said in conclusion.

About 585,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia, 36,000 of whom are Moslems, have found shelter in Serbia.

Refugees Turned Back by Serbs

LD2103130693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Enes Osmancevic reports on the care of 684 refugees from Srebrenica Cerska and Konjevic Polje who are now in Tuzla:

[Osmancevic] [passage omitted] According to the command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Second Corps, chetniks did not allow safe passage to all the wounded from Srebrenica. Three trucks transporting wounded soldiers of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army were stopped and subsequently turned back to Srebrenica by the chetniks.

Returning to Srebrenica with them was also General Morillon. Thanks probably to the presence of the French general, the wounded were spared the worst at the chetnik checkpoint. However, this bestial conduct by the chetniks will be included in a war crime indictment against Karadzic and his monsters.

Shelling of civilian targets in the Tuzla area was resumed this morning. Chetnik artillery is being targeted on Kalesija and the outlying areas of the Zivince municipality. Throughout the night, Tupkovici and (?Repuh) came under particularly heavy pounding. An infantry attack by the chetniks along the entire Zivinice defense line was successfully repelled overnight.

At the time of the dispatch, Tuzla is quiet.

Serbs Agree to Air Evacuation

LD2103152393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Bosnian Serb republic Nikola Koljevic said on Sunday [21 March] that the Serb side had agreed to an airlift of the seriously wounded from Srebrenica, but added that "this does not imply establishing a permanent air link" with that Muslim enclave in the east of war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The U.N. Commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Philippe Morillon, who arrived in Srebrenica on March 11, has sought permission for the opening of an air corridor for the evacuation of refugees and the wounded from that town and deployment of military observers in the area.

In a statement made to the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA after talks with international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen in New York on Saturday, Koljevic said no agreement had been reached on a map dividing Bosnia into 10 provinces.

The Bosnian Serb delegation has asked Vance and Owen to arrange a meeting with the Muslim side so that the issue can be directly negotiated, said Koljevic.

The Muslims have so far rejected the proposal, but if they agree, the meeting may take place already on Sunday, said SRNA.

The agency also quoted Koljevic as saying that the Serb side had rejected the idea that Bosnia-Herzegovina be administered by a joint presidency, and proposed a coordinating body instead.

Morillon To Remain in Srebrenica

LD2103140393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1338 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Paris, March 21 (TANJUG)—U.N. Commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina French General Philippe Morillon told the Paris weekly JOURNAL DU DIMANCHE that he was not leaving Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, and that he had decided to continue his mission.

General Morillon, who arrived in Srebrenica on March 11, said he would ask the Bosnian Moslem Presidency to honour the obligations it had undertaken—to restore a free circulation of people and especially to enable the Serb families detained by Moslems in Tuzla in the northeast of war-battered Bosnia-Herzegovina to leave for the neighbouring Serb-controlled town of Zvornik.

He said he was also negotiating with the Bosnian Serbs about the arrival of military observers in the Srebrenica area and opening of an air link with that town.

"Only then will I consider that Srebrenica is secure," said General Morillon and added that he would not return to Sarajevo for another 48 hours.

Officials of the U.N. Protection Force in Sarajevo on Thursday asked approval from the Bosnian Serb Republic for deploying U.N. military observers in the area of Srebrenica.

Three U.N. military observers and two U.S. Army officers are already deployed in Srebrenica.

The presence of the U.S. officers was made public by General Morillon, who said they were in Srebrenica to help guide the U.S. planes parachuting humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia.

The U.N. commander said his mission to Srebrenica was a success because he knew the people, and not because he used arms or force.

"This only confirms what I have been saying all along—that problems cannot be resolved by force," the French general said.

U.S. Drops Food Over Area

LD2103093993 Zagreb Croatian Radio Network in English 0805 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Three American Air Force cargo planes last night dropped nearly 17 tonnes of food over Srebrenica. According to an Air Force spokesperson in Frankfurt, the aid is now being packed into smaller parcels, and more of them are being dropped in an effort to get a wider distribution of the relief aid on the ground. It's hoped that this will allow for more people to have access to the food and medicine.

UN officials in eastern Bosnia had reported about how people were fighting among themselves over the crates of aid once they landed.

Air Attack From Serbia Reported

AU2203083893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 22 Mar 93

[The Srebrenica War Presidency report]

[Text] The aggressor's bloody offensive on Srebrenica is not letting up. Strong infantry forces of the regular army of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, together with mercenaries from Serbia and local chetniks, are attacking along the entire front line with vicious intensity. In their bloody attacks, the infantry forces of the Uzice, Valjevo, and Drina Corps are receiving strong support from the air force and the artillery from the occupied territories and from Serbia. The town is being daily exposed to fierce fire from heavy artillery from Rogac and other locations on the occupied territory, and from the slopes of Mount Tara and other locations in Serbia.

The aggressor's heavy artillery was not quiet overnight. From Rogac and (Kopresko Brdo), a multiple rocket launcher and two tanks pounded (Sutjeska) and Potocari, while strong infantry forces attacked the area around the villages of Slatina and (Kota Bolja) from the direction of Derventa and (Milica). This is the third day that this five-kilometer-long front line has been under attack by the aggressor's infantry, supported by three mortar batteries on (Kopresko Brdo). There were losses on both sides last night, but we do not have information on exact numbers. The defense lines are firm.

Last night Potocari and the surrounding villages were pounded by a recoilless gun from Kaolin and a tank from Zuti Most, near Bratunac. Two civilians were killed and five wounded. The Pale-Budak-Likari defense line also was exposed to a powerful mortar attack from the area of Bratunac, and we can expect an infantry attack this morning on this front line. The villages of (Posete) and (Kragljivode), and the defense lines on this part of the Srebrenica front came under heavy artillery fire all night from multiple rocket launchers, tanks, and howitzers from the slopes of Mount Tara, the plateau of the hydroelectric power station Bajina Basta, and Mitrovci—all in Serbia—and from tanks and mortars from the occupied Jezero. Four people were killed, and seven wounded in these attacks.

This is the Press Center of the Command of the Srebrenica Armed Forces for Radio-Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs Say UNPROFOR Fails to Evacuate Serbs From Tuzla

LD2203160393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The press center of the Drina Corps today issued a statement saying that not a single Serb left Tuzla today with a convoy of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and that none is expected to leave by the end of the day.

Contrary to expectations, not a single of the trucks which last Saturday [20 March] took 670 Muslims from Srebrenica has arrived in the area under the control of the army of the Serb Republic, the Drina Corps press center says in the statement delivered to TANJUG today.

Claim Serbs 'Ethnic Hostages'

AU2203102893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] The agreement between Tuzla's Muslim authorities and General Philippe Morillon on opening a corridor for 500 Serbs to leave the town toward Zvornik will most probably come to nothing, a SRNA correspondent has reported, quoting Serbian military sources in Bijeljina. According to the same sources, the Tuzla Serbs have been forced to sign the so-called announcement by the Tuzla Serbs to the domestic and the international public in front of the Tuzla headquarters of the Socialist Democratic Party yesterday. In this announcement, whose ideological author is the declared [Islamic] fundamentalist Enver Halilovic, the Tuzla Serbs were under coercion in declaring themselves against leaving the town, as well as in favor of a joint life with the Muslims, who have been holding them as ethnic hostages for almost one year.

Morillon Leaves for Tuzla

LD2103152993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Bratunac, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Following his talks in Bratunac today with General Milan Gvero, member of the UN peacekeeping forces for Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Morillon left for Tuzla shortly after 1300. [passage omitted] Meanwhile, the Serb side stressed that in the future it expects a higher degree of cooperation than at present from everyone, particularly since it had manifested a considerable degree of readiness to cooperate, which was clearly not sufficiently appreciated.

The Serb side drew General Morillon's attention to the fact that in eastern Bosnia, especially in the vicinity of Srebrenica and Bratunac, mass pogroms of the Serbs had been carried out—34 villages had been burned down and, according to unconfirmed reports, 1,324 Serbs were killed in these parts in the most brutal way.

Gen. Morillon replied that war criminals would not be pardoned and that the international community would put them on trial.

Prior to his departure for Tuzla, Gen. Morillon told TANJUG's correspondent that he is going there in order to personally participate in the fulfillment of the promise he had made to Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president] regarding freedom of movement for all citizens.

In this way, he indirectly confirmed that he would attempt the mission of evacuating the Serbs from Tuzla and that he would return to Srebrenica the same day.

Convoy To Evacuate Serbs

AU2103195493 Paris AFP in English 1943 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Velika Reka, Yugoslavia, March 21 (AFP)—A U.N. convoy will begin evacuating Serbian families from the eastern Bosnian town of Tuzla Monday [22 March], meeting a Serbian precondition for further evacuations from the besieged Moslem town of Srebrenica, U.N. Commander General Philippe Morillon said here Sunday.

"It is a first step," Morillon told AFP in this Serbian town near the Bosnian border.

"I was given a promise that all those who wish to leave will be authorized to go to Zvornik," an eastern Bosnian town under Serb control, said the general, who travelled earlier in the day to Tuzla.

UN Helicopters Open Corridor

AU2103153393 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 21 (AFP)—Two U.N. military helicopters with French crews aboard opened an air corridor to the besieged northeastern Bosnian town of Tuzla Sunday [21 March] after taking off from the southern Croatian port city of Split, Zagreb radio reported.

The two helicopters, which were "covered" by four combat helicopters, landed at the Dubrava airstrip just outside Tuzla, which is inhabited mostly by Moslems, its population swollen by refugees.

The radio, carrying a report from a correspondent in Tuzla, said the air route would be used to take aid to Tuzla, which is under attack by Serb forces.

Nearly 700 refugees—100 of them wounded—arrived in Tuzla Saturday from Srebrenica, about 100 kilometres (60 miles) to the southeast—a Moslem enclave under heavy pressure from the Serbs.

Official Asks for Rescue of Serbs

LD2103143793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Bratunac, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Talks started at about midday in the Fontana Hotel in Bratunac between General Philippe Morillon, UN commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Major General Milan Gvero, member of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army General Staff, on the situation in eastern Bosnia and the evacuation of civilians.

The outcome of these talks was not known by early afternoon.

The stand of the Serb side, Gen. Gvero said, was that the same trucks which are taking humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, and other places should be used to rescue Serbs from these areas.

Gen. Gvero expressed hope that in this way at least 1,000 Serbs would be evacuated from Tuzla in the near future.

ICRC Suspends Relief Mission in Banja Luka

LD2003202093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1856 GMT 20 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has been compelled due to the difficulties in work to suspend its relief mission in the [word indistinct] the western Bosnian town of Banja Luka, the ICRC office in Banja Luka said on Saturday [20 March].

The resumption of the mission depends on the attitude of the competent authorities which are expected to declare themselves clearly and publicly in favour of the humanitarian mission, the ICRC statement said.

It outlined hostile excesses against the humanitarian organization, including attacks on ICRC vehicles and property of its workers.

Banja Luka is in the center of the western part of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, proclaimed on the predominantly Serb-populated areas in the former Yugoslav republic.

The Banja Luka area, which was not affected by the war, has been flooded by rafugees ever since the outbreak of a civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina eleven months ago.

Serbs Claim Capture of 'Gateway to Sarajevo'

AU2003211893 Paris AFP in English 2113 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs on Saturday [20 March] claimed the capture of the gateway to Sarajevo.

It was impossible to obtain an immediate reaction from the Bosnia-Herzegovina capital to the report by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA that the suburb of Stup had fallen.

SRNA quoted the commander of the "Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Serb Army" as saying that his men took Stup during "a powerful counterattack" against troops of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army.

Stup, at the western end of the valley-floor city, lies on a strategic crossroad leading from the city to the airport, which lies in a transverse valley.

The airport—used for relief flights—is managed by U.N. troops.

Control of Stup would leave the Serbs poised to advance toward the city centre, which they have been bombarding for almost a year from surrounding mountains.

The SRNA report said the Serbs blew up a Bosnian army munitions depot in Stup, and that Bosnian troops were retreating toward the city centre "in disorder and panic."

Sarajevo Water Shortage Threatens Epidemic Spread

AU2003182993 Paris AFP in English 1820 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 20 (AFP)—A shortfall in Sarajevo's water supplies is presenting a serious risk of epidemics due to infiltration of bacteria-laden ground water into pipelines, a U.N. official said Saturday [20 March].

Phil Casey, a representative of the U.N. children's fund UNICEF, said Sarajevo residents were receiving only 12 to 15 litres (three to four gallons) of water per day, or three percent of the 400 litres (100 gallons) consumed daily by the average westerner, a figure that includes commercial and municipal use.

Control by Serb forces of the city's reservoir, and bombardment of the pipelines, meant that pressure in the supply system had fallen to a level that made it easy for polluted outside water to get into the city's drinking supplies, Casey said.

There is a serious risk of epidemics, Casey said. In the past few days, 12 children in the municipal orphanage have been treated for hepatitis A, and cases of typhus and dysentry have been recorded.

The city's pumping stations have begun to run out of chlorine for purification treatment, as the United Nations has banned imports of chlorine on the grounds that it could be used to make chemical weapons.

The United Nations is setting up a coordination committee to look into the problem, Casey said.

Radical Party Urges Unification of Serbs

AU2003163993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] for the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] is holding a convention in Banja Luka. Brane Bozic reports:

[Begin recording] We are rounding up the constitution of the SRS for the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] today without the desire to struggle for power at this very moment. Our sole aim in these war times is that we, as a party, assist the struggle of the Serbian nation for its survival as concretely as possible, on the front and also in providing for those who need social assistance, [party leader] Dr. Vojislav Seselj said at the beginning of the assembly.

He particularly stressed that the Radicals fully support all previous moves by Dr. Radovan Karadzic [president of the presidency of Serbian republic] and the government of the Serbian republic. Seselj believes that conditions for the signing of the maps offered by Vance and Owen have not been created, but he is convinced that the talks should be continued. He favored immediate unification of the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina and proposed that this new country be called western Serbia.

Since we are a party that is active on all Serbian territories, Dr. Vojislav Seselj said, we will strive for the unification to take place as soon as possible. [end recording]

Police Reject Croatian Claims of 'Lawlessness'

AU1903203693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Regarding the statement by the Croatian Democratic Community for the Centar commune of Sarajevo that was broadcast on 18 March [date as heard] this year, the police headquarters of the Centar commune—to provide the citizens of Sarajevo with correct information—has issued the following statement:

The police headquarters of the Sarajevo Centar commune had only one reported case on 14 March of one person being taken away by certain members of the 10th Hill Brigade. The person in question was a Muslim national, an employee of the Privredna Bank in Sarajevo, and the police reacted in accordance with the regulations immediately upon receiving the report. That gives an air of absurdity to the part of the statement by the Croatian Democratic Community for Centar that claims that a group of citizens, allegedly in full view of a patrol of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was taken away by the military police. All this allegedly happened on three streets in the center of the city. The demand for the self-organizing of the citizens is illegal, to say the least, and presents a direct attack on the police force and all the accomplished results from the start of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Tudjman Urges Continued UNPROFOR Mandate

LD2003181693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] On 19 March, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. We are reading out the full text of the letter:

My country highly values your tireless and sincere efforts aimed at restoring peace on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The United Nations is playing a central role in the current initiatives for the creation of stability and security in the region. Sincerely valuing all actions that you are currently taking, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate some of the most important points of the Croatian proposal to improve future UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] activities:

Croatia has hailed the fact that the United Nations seriously examined our demand for a more effective and decisive UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia. We resolutely believe that the implementation of a new UNPROFOR mandate should unfold clearly in line with the political solution which should be defined under the auspices of the Security Council. That solution should guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, including the introduction of Croatian authority on the entire territory of the republic, and should also secure the maximum observance of human and minority rights in Croatia. We urge that the duties which the Croatian Government and local Serb authorities must implement at every level of the peace process be defined, thus securing the complete implementation of the Vance plan. It is our firm belief that the current peace operation in Croatia needs to be redefined, so that specific mechanisms for the active application of the Vance plan are used, including the deadlines for its gradual implementation.

Only through effective implementation of relevant UN Security Council resolutions will we be able to achieve a just and permanent solution to the crisis in the shortest possible time.

At the present moment, UNPROFOR is deployed on the territory of two sovereign states, members of the United Nations, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. Therefore, Yugoslavia is not competent, neither in the legal nor in political sense, to affect or the current UNPROFOR action. This is not a civil war but an international armed conflict caused by the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the essence of the crisis. Hence, the definition of the character of the peace-keeping mandate and a formal agreement on the status of the UN forces should be reached between the governments of these countries and the United Nations. Therefore, an agreement on the future mandate and the status of UNPROFOR in Croatia must be concluded between the United Nations and the Government of the Republic of Croatia.

Croatia would like the UNPROFOR mandate to be extended by an additional period of six months, which would be based on the premises of a dynamic concept of gradual implementation of the Vance plan and dependent upon a political solution which honors the sovereignty of Croatia and also the rights of minorities on its territory, which creates permanent domestic and regional stability and security.

UNPROFOR's activities in Croatia must be based on similar principles as the action planned by the world community for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The success of the implementation of the peace plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina is firmly linked with positive results of the peace efforts in Croatia. That is why Croatia calls for the same degree of determination for the achievement of a peaceful solution based on key resolutions of the UN Security Council and the peace plans created under the aegis of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia. The failure of the peace efforts in Croatia will diminish the hopes for the prevention of Serb aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes for an end to the unbearable suffering of the civilians and for a cessation of material destruction. We resolutely maintain our stand that the future activities of UNPROFOR in Croatia should be based on the following principles:

a. To make an immediate start to the process of establishing civil Croatian authorities in the so-called pink zones.

b. To demilitarize, immediately and completely, UN protected areas [UNPAs] and to establish local police forces according to the general principles of the Vance plan.

c. To implement fully UN Security Council Resolution 769, issued in 1992, which calls for the firm control of Croatian border areas by the UNPROFOR forces in those areas where the UNPA borders coincide with the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia. Without effective control of all borders, the aggression of the Serb forces will continue in the future.

d. To effect the return, voluntarily and unconditionally, of all refugees to their homes.

Croatia believes that one of the first steps in the reintegration process, which would be a part of the new UN mandate, should be the promotion of trust-building measures. Their goal would be to bring down the level of distrust and tension in this area. It is important to normalize life and conditions on the whole territory of Croatia as soon as possible. That is why one of the first of UNPROFOR's tasks should be to reopen the main roads, railways, water-supply systems, power transmission lines, oil pipelines passing through the UNPA area. It is important to establish normal railway traffic on the Zagreb-Knin-Split route immediately. In the process of reopening roads, the most important road is the Zagreb-Slavonski Brod-Zupanja road. The reopening of the

Karlovac-Plitvice-Obrovac-Sibenik and Plitvice-Gracac-Knin-Split, Vinkovci-Ilok, Vinkovci-Vukovar and Osijek-Bilje-Beli Manastir-Knezevo roads are also important.

The UN operation in the Republic of Croatia should also ensure regular deliveries of humanitarian aid to the inhabitants of the occupied areas and to the inhabitants of the parts of Croatia which are isolated and blocked by hostilities, above all in the southern coastal part of Dalmatia.

The Croatian Government is preparing various measures to normalize living conditions in UNPA areas and they will be carried out after implementation of the new mandate expected from UNPROFOR. We are ready to undertake all necessary measures for the reestablishment and the integration of the school system, social and health care, and the pension system with the other parts of Croatia. We will issue Croatian identity cards to all citizens in the UNPA areas as well as passports and other documents in accordance with the existing procedure.

The reopening of a high-tension power transmission line through UNPROFOR Sector South is of vital importance for 1 million inhabitants of Dalmatia and it is also important for the Serb inhabitants of Sector South. The Adriatic oil pipeline which partly passes through Sector West also should be reopened immediately because of its strategic importance for the Republic of Croatia as well as the neighboring central European states.

The Croatian Government, President Tudjman stresses, is ready for direct talks on normalization, confidence-building, and minority rights problems with the legitimate representatives of the Serb people from all UNPA sectors, i.e., with those who were elected in local elections held before the beginning of the conflict. We are firmly convinced that one of the important steps in the renewed and revised mandate of the UNPROFOR should be the organization of internationally supervised local elections in these parts of Croatia, taking in consideration the 1991 census. In this way, legitimate Serb representatives would be elected as well as the representatives of other local inhabitants at all levels of authority. We would welcome the participation of these elected representatives in the activities of both chambers of the Croatian parliament.

Croatia cannot be satisfied with current results achieved by UNPROFOR's operation or with the way it is being implemented. Even though we welcome the courageous efforts of UNPROFOR members and their devotion to peace, we have to express our dissatisfaction with the fact that the most important provisions of the Vance plan are yet to be implemented. We think that the reason for this, above all, is the limited character of the existing UNPROFOR mandate which is inadequate for starting and supporting the refugee repatriation process, for controlling Croatia's international borders, disarming Serb paramilitary units, and reestablishing Croatian Government authority in the pink zones and UNPA.

UN Security Council Resolution 807, issued in 1993 and approving extra measures for UNPROFOR members regarding their personal protection, is a good basis for strengthening the implementation of the Vance plan, taking into account the fact that UN Security Council's permission for UNPROFOR to use force when necessary is important not only for the personal safety of the UN units but also for the implementation of all unfulfilled provisions of the Vance plan. Even though Croatia is obligated fully to cooperate with the UNPROFOR, we cannot accept the extension of the same mandate which has been misused by the Serb side. Negotiations and confidence-building are absolutely important but this process cannot begin and cannot be implemented without a wider UNPROFOR mandate and international guarantees for securing the results of the peace process in the region, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, stressed at the end of his letter to the UN secretary general.

Terms Set for Extension of UNPROFOR Mandate

LD2003173493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 20 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, March 20 (TANJUG)—Croatia is setting terms for the renewal of the United Nations peace force on Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) mandate which expires on March 31, with a demand for the gradual setting up of Croatian authority in the area of the republic of Serbian Krajina which is a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA).

The republic of Serbian Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 in territories of the former Croatia with a majority Serbian population, after Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslav Federation. Croatian authority and laws are not in force in the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Croatian Ambassador to the United Nations Mario Nobilo informed UN Security Council members of the demand for the setting up of Croatian civilian authority in the "pink zones" and later for the "complete reintegration of the UNPA in the entire system of the Croatian Republic," according to a statement issued in Zagreb on Saturday [20 March].

"Pink zones" are areas around the line of demarcation between the warring sides with a majority Serbian population, or a significant minority which have local civilian authorities.

On January 22, Croatia launched an aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, attacking the "pink zone" in Sector South—under UN protection. The offensive was not stopped in spite of Security Council Resolution 802 demanding that Croatia withdraw its troops to initial positions.

A new UNPROFOR mandate "must not in any way bring into question Croatia's integrity and territorial sovereignty over its entire territory within internationally recognized borders," said Nobilo.

The international community recognized Croatia within the administrative borders which the communist authorities had drawn up between the Yugoslav Republics of the former Yugoslav Federation, without taking into account ethnic, demographic and historical criteria.

Nobilo said that Croatia was prepared to grant local autonomy in areas with a majority Serbian population, now UNPAs, but that it would not agree to "the creation of a Serbian state," in the territories it considers its own.

Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak announced more rigorous conditions for an extension of UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia, in an interview to the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Susak said that Croatia would agree to the extension on condition that UNPROFOR is given permission to use force in carrying through agreements.

This means, said Susak, that "UNPROFOR would take over control of Croatia's borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia."

Commenting Croatia's attack on the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Susak said that "the Croatian Army's action in Maslenica held great political risk," because of a possible "overall condemnation" of Croatia by the international community, for violating those conditions it had agreed to for the arrival of the UN peacekeeping force.

Assessing that the Croatian Army was capable of recapturing lost territory, Susak said that he would be the last to ask this of the army "as long as there were other ways of achieving the same goals."

Hadzic Says Agreement Reached on Army Withdrawal

LD1903210793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 19 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, March 19 (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbian Krajina President Goran Hadzic said on Friday that an agreement had been reached on ways of Croatia's withdrawal from parts of the Republic of Serbian Krajina which had been occupied after Croatia's aggression against this United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) on January 22, this year.

Following a morning of negotiations with international mediators Herbert Okun and Geert Ahrens, Hadzic told a press conference in Geneva that the agreement foresees that Croatia will withdraw its army and police from those territories against which it had carried out an aggression, while the Republic of Serbian Krajina would withdraw its heavy artillery.

[Words indistinct] believes that [words indistinct] is acceptable to the Croats, all the more so as the Serbian side is willing to allow them to repair communication facilities.

Hadzic believes that the greatest satisfaction for the Serbs in Krajina is the fact that the United Nations named the aggressor. Hadzic underscored that this was the first time that the U.N. had said clearly that Croatia was the aggressor.

After the attack the UN Security Council condemned Croatia of aggression against an UNPA and demanded that Croatian forces withdraw to their initial positions. Croatia turned a deaf ear and continued with the attacks.

Hadzic said that the international community has not been informed of another Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina this year when the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) withdrew on March 11, allowing Croatia to capture a narrow belt of northern Krajina—the Blina Kut and Cinjaca.

In our wish for peace as soon as possible, we have overlooked this second aggression, said Hadzic.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina upholds an extension of the UN peacekeeping forces' mandate, even though UNPROFOR has so far shown a number of weaknesses, said Hadzic. He recalled that no one had the right to prejudice political solution of the conflict between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia.

The Serbian people must be recognized the right to self-determination such as enjoyed by all the nations of Europe, and the right to say with whom and in what kind of a state they wish to live, said Hadzic, underscoring that "there were no dilemmas over the fact that the Serbs did not wish to live in Croatia."

Sarinic Warns of Renewed Fighting in Prevlaka

LD2003185193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic sent separate identical letters to United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and UN Security Council Chairman Terrence Christopher O'Brian drawing their attention to the fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has systematically and seriously been threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, this time threatening to carry out a military occupation of the area of Prevlaka at the far south of the Republic of Croatia. This can clearly be deduced from statements by top political and army officials of the FRY.

In this regard, Prime Minister Sarinic reminded the UN top officials of duties that—in line with the UN Charter—are binding on them in such circumstances, calling on them at the same time to inform UN members about the content of the letter. The letter says:

On 30 September 1992, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and FRY President Dobrica Cosic signed in Geneva a joint declaration on the basis of which the Yugoslav Army left Prevlaka on 20 September 1992 [as heard]—the southern part of the Republic of Croatia—in accordance with the Vance plan.

For security reasons, the area of Prevlaka was demilitarized on either side of the state border of Croatia and Montenegro—which is a constituent part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—while UN observers monitored the situation. The Republic of Croatia has strictly observed the agreement. There are no Croatian military formations in the area of Prevlaka, while peace and order have been maintained by a limited number of police forces. According to reports by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, peace has prevailed in the area of Prevlaka, and no incidents have occurred.

Reports by UN observers deployed in the area of Prevlaka can be a good confirmation of the aforementioned facts. Despite such situation, FRY National Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, according to reports carried by the official Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, stated that he was going to take a series of political and military measures in the days to come, aimed at protecting the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because of alleged, month-long artillery attacks in the area of Prevlaka.

Several days before that statement, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic sent a letter to the UN Security Council asking for the extension of the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate, in which he mentioned continuous armed provocative actions and the amassing of Croatian Armed Forces in the border zone between Montenegro and Croatia. The representative of the FRY Army, Rear-Admiral Dusan Rakic—according to Montenegrin Radio—told members of the Assembly [as heard] in the Montenegrin town of Herceg-Novi, near Prevlaka, that there was only a step to a fresh war with Croatia.

Pointing to an imaginary danger coming from Croatia creates an atmosphere for yet another fresh offensive on the southern part of the Republic of Croatia. Montenegrin Internal Affairs Minister Nikola Pejakovic proved that any kind of danger coming from Croatia for Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was imaginary. Addressing the Montenegrin Assembly, he stated that the situation in Prevlaka was stable, while the stories about the concentration of Croatian Army formations along Montenegrin borders were imaginary.

Following that statement, militant deputies of the Serbian Radical Party, whose leaders committed a series of war crimes in the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, walked out of the Assembly session, demanding that the internal affairs minister be called to account and threatening to send thousands of their volunteers to the Republic of Croatia.

Your Excellency, the above-mentioned letters, statements, and concrete actions on the part of the political leadership of the FRY, i.e. Serbia—because the military command is associated with the Belgrade-based General Staff and the Supreme Council—constitute a serious threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and a clear threat to peace and security in this part of Europe, in which Serbia's aggressive war against two UN members—the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina—has been raging for the third consecutive year. [as heard]. I wish to remind you, the letter continues, that the aggression of Serbia, Montenegro,and the Yugoslav Army against the southern part of Croatia, i.e. the Dubrovnik area, was carried out in the autumn of 1991 with the excuse that the Croatian Armed Forces had attacked the strategically important and exceptionally well-secured radar and missile base of the Yugoslav Army—Prevlaka—although, at that time, the Republic of Croatia, which had only just proclaimed its sovereignty and independence, had no armed forces at its disposal.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia wishes to draw your attention and the attention of the UN Security Council to the fact that the FRY's systematic and serious threats to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia—which this time threatened the military occupation of the Prevlaka area in the south of Croatia and which is clearly encouraged by the statements made by the most responsible political and military officials in the FRY—and, in this connection, remind you and the UN Security Council of your duty, the duty to which the UN Charter binds you in such circumstances. I beg you to make the content of this letter known to UN members.

We read this at the end of Sarinic's letter to Butrus-Ghali and UN Security Council Chairman Terrence Christopher O'Brian.

Serbs Reportedly Launch Attack on Dubrovnik

LD2103132193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] At 1015, chetniks began an artillery attack on the Zupa Dubrovacka area from Trebinje. The information and psychological center of the Croatian Army command in Sector South reported that the enemy was launching sporadic long-range artillery attacks on the coastal part of the Dubrovnik riviera. According to initial reports, no damage was caused and there were no casualties among civilians and Croatian soldiers.

Party Leader Says Serbs Forced To Leave Zagreb

LD2003152793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1445 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 20 (TANJUG)—Veselin Pejnovic a member of the Serbian People's Party (SNS) leadership in Croatia, accused the Croatian leadership for mass layoffs of Serbs and their expulsion from Zagreb, capital of this former Yugoslav republic.

"Entire suburbs of Zagreb where the Serbs were the majority have been emptied," said Pejnovic at a press conference on Friday [19 March] in Zagreb. He added that 20,000 Serbs had left Zagreb in the last two years.

Pejnovic also said that recently many Serbs in Zagreb had lost their jobs. He illustrated this point with the fact that in one day only, 200 employees of Serbian nationality were sacked from the municipal administration.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA recently said that those Serbs who had remained in Croatian cities—Zagreb, Zadar, Osijek and Karlovac faced "open state terror and threats" aimed at ethnically cleansing Croatia of non-Croats.

In towns throughout Croatia "7,000 houses owned by citizens of Serbian nationality have been blown up," while Serbs were forced to renounce their names and take Croatian names and surnames in order to find jobs, go to the post office, shop..." said POLITIKA calling on reliable sources.

Because of the new Croatian law on citizenship which is based on the theory of blood and territory, tens of thousands of citizens of Serbian nationality in Croatia have not received citizenship, thus being directly prevented from the right to work, hold a passport or sell and buy property.

Pejnovic accused the Croatian authorities of violating the constitutionally guaranteed cultural autonomy of Serbs, pointing out that there was not one single programme for the Serbian national community in Croatia on Croatian radio and television, nor were there any Serbian newspapers or journals.

Jovan Pejovic and Mile Buic, two notable Serbs from Dubrovnik, a Croatian town on the Adriatic coast, told reporters in Belgrade last week that a series of mock political trials against Serbs were under way in Croatia.

Commander Confirms Arrival of Russian Volunteers

AU2103203793 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Report by Stanko Pevac]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Pevac] The republic of Serbian Krajina's problem of defense has been unjustifiably pushed aside in the psychological and media sense at the expense of daily political events that some consider more attractive and exclusive. The work here, however, continues and we must be ready for it, General-Major Mile Novakovic, commander of the republic of Serbian Krajina army, said at the news conference in Knin last night.

The General Staff of the Krajina army has proof that Croatia is not only preparing to conquer individual parts, but rather the entire Serbian Krajina. It is less important, Novakovic added, whether they plan to achieve this in an overall aggression, step by step, or according to the wasteland principle. Therefore, the Serbian army has no other choice but to prevent the realization of this goal exclusively by force, Novakovic said.

[Novakovic] It is not possible that they would allow the Serbs in this area to live as free people and have a country that would be the country of people who live on our territories.

[Pevac] The Croatian Army is concentrating fierce activities toward Drnis, Benkovac, and Obrovac on the north Dalmatian battlefield. It is also trying to gain the advantage in Lika by acting in Gospic and Gracac. The situation in Banija and Baranja is similar.

According to General Novakovic, the Croatian Democratic Community and its president cannot survive without sable rattling, which is why they are carrying out mobilization in Karlovac, Zagreb, and Slavonia, while approximately 2,000 soldiers are being trained on Krk Island for the attack on Vukovar. People are moving out of border regions—for example, in Osijek—and saboteur groups are being infiltrated on a daily basis. [passage omitted]

[Pevac] General Novakovic also put forward some information in which it is clear that the Croatian side frequently uses the UN Protection Force's presence to regroup its troops and attack. This is a struggle for biological survival of the Serbs on these territories and a historic moment for the creation of the Serbian state, Novakovic said.

He called upon the volunteers in Serbia and around the world—or as he said, all those who are willing to fight against evil and injustice—to contribute toward the victory of the Serbs either in this way or by material donations. He confirmed that Russian volunteers arrived in Knin yesterday and said that there was nothing surprising about that. [end recording]

Italy 'Reminds' Ministry of 'Refugee Property'

AU1803165893 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] As you probably already know, the Italian Foreign Ministry last night in a special press note announced that it reminds Slovenia and Croatia of denationalization of confiscated refugee property via diplomatic channels. Our Trieste correspondent Igor Gruden has the details:

[Begin Gruden recording] Any legal initiative, the statement says, that would prevent realization of this goal could damage the negotiations that the Italian side intends to conduct seriously and in observation of legitimate rights of both sides. Driven by desire to avoid any sort of misunderstandings in face of such a delicate subject and to safeguard the success of recently commenced talks, the ministry will carefully monitor the development of the situation and do its best to avoid actions that would not be agreeable with desires of Slovenia and Croatia for an accelerated integration with the EC. The statement concludes that the ministry expects that both countries will soon offer explanations.

As we reported yesterday, the reason for recent apprehension regarding Slovenia lies in our legislation that allegedly prevents denationalization or purchase of refugee property and the law on real estate fund that is supposed to include all refugees' real estate, by which, according to the refugee organizations here, any chance that the refugees would ever get hold of their property has been additionally nullified.

The cause for dissatisfaction with Croatia lies in a recent government decree allowing sale of abandoned refugee real estate which is seen here as a real challenge at the moment when the negotiations about the final fate of this real estate have only just begun.

The Trieste press this morning openly applauded the Foreign Ministry note. It has sensed sharp tones in it, the last warring before shooting, and a threat that Slovenia and Croatia—if they try to legally prevent the return of refugees' real estate—will encounter great problems in joining not only the EC but also its anteroom called the Council of Europe. [end recording]

Defense Minister on Budget, Other Issues

93BA0688F Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 22 Feb 93 p 23

[Interview with Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Jadran Vatovec; place and date not given: "The Slovene LC President Stated that Social Democracy Was Not a Serious Matter"]

[Text] [Vatovec] Mr. Minister, you are the vice president of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia [SDSS], which this week invited four parties (the SSS [Socialist Party of Slovenia], DS [Democratic Party], ZS [Greens of Slovenia], and ZL [United List]) to a "political merger of social democratic forces." From the letters that you sent to those parties it is apparent that the SSS is the most acceptable to you ("We see in you what is closest to us, i.e., what is social democratic in your program"), whereas you say of the ZL that it is too closely linked to the tradition of the former LC and the Communist Party.

[Jansa] It is true that our party sent an initiative for unification around the social democratic idea to several Slovene parties. We are also thinking about sending a similar initiative to at least two more nonparliamentary parties, the Christian Socialist and the National Democrats, which also have several elements of social democracy in their programs.

With respect to the ZL, it is composed of parties that were formed within the nucleus that was and still is created by the former Slovene LC. None of them emerged as an opposition to the previous one-party system. That is clearly evident from the initiative that they presented recently. We think that the most debatable thing is the fact that in doing so they are proceeding on the basis of preserving the legal and financial legacy of the previous parties or party, which now has a different name, to be sure. This is consequently an attempt to follow a different path than was followed in several of the former East European communist states, where the former communist parties split into an orthodox communist wing and a more liberal one, for instance a wing with an at least partly social democratic orientation. Actually, what bothered our party most about the ZL's initiative was precisely the fact of the legal, financial, and moral legacy that it is not renouncing, but rather only trying to conceal. That is why it is not possible to consider it either a new party or a social democratic party.

[Vatovec] At the press conference where you presented your initiative, you said that the SDSS presidency saw a danger that Slovenia might split politically into two blocs, a Christian-conservative one and a liberal-centrist one, thus pushing the third, social democratic, bloc onto a side track.

[Jansa] These two blocs already exist, since they have been quite clearly formed, with an at least partly evident social base. The neoliberal bloc was firmly anchored especially after the last elections, and after privatization and denationalization it will become the representative of the owners of capital, the stockholders, and partly also the managers of capital. This means, of course, that in its orientation, in many respects, it will be substantially further from social democracy than Christian democracy is in several West European states. If I were to use traditional designations, then this means that on several points it will become substantially further to the right. The distribution of parties is still not viewed that way here, of course, since the social base of many parties is just emerging and it is precisely in this regard that there is the most ambiguity. Some of them declare themselves to be left of center, and others to be restored social democracy. We who emerged four years ago as the

opposition to the former one-party system are the genuine Social Democratic Party. At that time the president of the Slovene LC stated that social democracy was not a serious matter. It is also for that reason that it is illusory to expect that because of some sort of good will and compassion we would now assume the burden that someone else is still carrying with him: from Cebine, to the elements of civil war, the Rog slaughters, and everything else that was wrong in the one-party system. Because of all that, of course, our analysis had to go deeper. We compared our findings with the trends in other East European states, and I can say that they coincide to a great extent. Our initiative was not intended for the short term, so that now something new would arise, nor is it a new coalition that in two months or half a year would change the balance of power that emerged in Slovenia after the elections and on the basis of which the present government coalition was formed. It has to do with a realistic assessment of the developments and trends in Slovene political life, for instance until the end of this decade, century, and millenium, with which we have outlined the Social Democratic Party's strategy in this period.

[Vatovec] In a way the "tripolarism" that you are advocating is already being shown in the coalition agreement among the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], the SKD [Slovene Christian Democrats], and yourselves.

[Jansa] That is precisely the case; the present situation in Slovene politics is very clearly evident from that coalition agreement, and especially the position of the United List parties and the SDP [Party of Democratic Reform], which does not have equal status precisely for the reasons that I cited previously. Regardless of how it is concealed and obscured, that remains a fact.

[Vatovec] It was possible to perceive in the media that the ZL advocated the SDSS's participation in the government, and that it supported your candidacy for defense minister, but then things just developed differently when you presented yourself before the State Assembly's temporary working body.

[Jansa] The ZL would have supported our participation in the government if we had also agreed to a subordinate status and thus formally reduced the obviousness of its own subordinate position. Since we did not agree to that, however, its support was quickly over with, and it very obviously opposed my candidacy for minister. In this regard it is also interesting that they completely "agreed" on this extreme. I am thinking of the joint appearance by Ciril Ribicic and Zmago Jelincic.

[Vatovec] Could a merger of parties cause complications in the government coalition and threaten its solidity?

[Jansa] I must say that in the short term there is no possibility that a merger would occur to such an extent that it would threaten the present coalition. A possibility exists for two fairly significant mergers that could occur before the next state elections. One is a merger of the SLS [Slovene People's Party] and the SKD, and the other is the implementation to a major degree of the initiative for a merger of social democratic forces that was formulated by the SDSS. Objectively, one cannot expect any other major mergers.

[Vatovec] Your party is emphasizing that it is necessary to develop the trade union movement, and allow the trade union to become what it ought to be in a modern society. How do you assess the initiative by Independence-KNSS [Confederation of New Trade Unions of Slovenia] for dividing up the property of the former "trade union" in the one-party system, which the Federation of Free Trade Unions is rejecting?

[Jansa] It is a very obvious tactic by the former monopolistic regime organizations, which wanted to preserve their influence. There are also many similarities here with the position of the trade unions in several East European and Central European states that are now in a period of postcommunism, just like us. Just as the previous sole permitted party, the LC, did not give up its property, now the only previously permitted regime trade union has not given up its own property and has not made it possible for other trade unions to make use of it. It has thus held onto a considerable part of the influence and the power that is also derived from the fact that a certain organization has the conditions for its activity guaranteed. The new trade unions have to create it from nothing, but that trade union has available the infrastructure that the state gave it earlier by granting it a monopolistic position. That is one of the reasons why the trade union movement here, and also in the East, is in a bigger crisis than it would have been because of objective circumstances. The material and other basic conditions for activity are not equal. These issues are important, since social democracy swears by a balance between labor and capital, and in ensuring that balance trade union organization should have great significance.

[Vatovec] If we look at the relationship between the State Assembly and the State Council (the legislative body and its advisory organ), we note that numerous unresolved issues remain. Could we say that some people are even interested in having the State Council usurp the role of a second chamber of parliament?

[Jansa] Some of that interest certainly exists, but also some nostalgia for having the State Council play a different role than the one specified by the constitution. That can be observed primarily among those State Councilors who were deputies during the previous term. I think that since the constitution is quite clear in defining the State Council's function, there is no major danger of its becoming a second chamber of parliament. Certainly, some people will advocate it. I think, however, that the key problem is primarily with respect to those councilors whose election did not exactly take place in a "brilliant" way (I think that it is precisely several trade union representatives in the State Council who are unrepresentative, because they do not represent the entire trade union movement).

[Vatovec] Is it possible that there could be a revision of the Constitution, for example with the justification that some things should be improved or modified?

[Jansa] Well, some things will be resolved by other laws. A law on representation in the trade union will probably make it possible for the next elections of trade union representatives for the State Council to be different and actually in accordance with the will of the trade unions' membership.

Probably there will also be initiatives for increasing and also for reducing the role of the State Council when people discuss the need to amend the Constitution. I personally think that we need at least some time for the system that we are establishing on the basis of the new constitution (and just after the last elections) to be consolidated somehow and start to function as a whole. Only then will it be time for a more serious analysis and possible proposals for amending the Constitution. Now would not yet be the right time.

[Vatovec] In recent years we have witnessed public debates and even polemics about the defense budget and about whether it is appropriate, i.e., whether it should be reduced. What will happen to it this year?

[Jansa] The expenditures for defense are the only ones that the Slovene state drastically reduced after independence. In 1990 we provided almost $900 million for the Yugoslav Army (annually, an average of up to 7 percent of the national income). Last year, when we started to form the defense system, parliament allocated 2.9 percent of the national income for defense. That percentage was reduced by the government through various redistributions, so the defense system reduced more than 1 percent less than what parliament had approved for it. That can be clearly recognized from the activities. We have neither started nor established some of the combat systems that we would need.

This year the State Assembly will probably decide on the defense portion of the budget, which will be composed of two parts: one with the funds for regular activities and the training of soldiers (which is the basic minimum for activities to take place), and the other is to contain a proposal that combat systems nevertheless start to be established within a given period. These would include primarily a system for controlling and defending our airspace, where there are several violations daily, for defense of the sea and the coast, and for the modernization of communications systems. With respect to the latter the situation is most critical, since the equipment that we took over from the JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] is minimal, and also obsolete and unusable. An army without communications equipment, without communications, is of limited use.

This year what is repeated every year in parliamentary states will probably happen for the first time. The deputies will receive a precise explanation of all the items in the defense budget and they will be the very ones who will decide, if I may simplify things, whether we will buy a given item or not.

[Vatovec] As a social democrat, do you feel dissension [words indistinct] in the government, in a way, is also ensuring the interests of the Ministry of Labor, Family, and Social Affairs? Back after the elections the minister mentioned that she will try to fulfill her party's promises of new jobs (100,000 new jobs)?

[Jansa] The 1 percent of the national income that parliament approved for defense last year and was not used for defense went almost entirely for social programs. Thus, as a social democrat, I do not have any bad conscience at all because of too much being spent by the ministry that I head. I already mentioned previously that in the past two years we have saved several hundred million dollars. That was also used for social programs. If we had used the same funds for the Slovene Army that were used for the Army in the former Yugoslavia, social conditions in Slovenia would have been substantially, substantially worse.

[Vatovec] To what extent is the situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, while not even relations with neighboring Croatia (the logging in the Sneznik forests) have been settled yet, causing your ministry concern?

[Jansa] Territorial Defense is responsible for defending Slovene territory from border to border, while the crossing of the state border is overseen by the police and no longer by the army as well, as was the case previously in Yugoslavia, because their jurisdictions are now clearly delineated and also observed. In the case of all the incidents that have occurred, with the exception of the airspace violations, where we should have reacted in individual cases but do not have the necessary resources to do so, in practice there has not been a situation that would have required military intervention, except in a preventive sense. In that sense there have also been some measures.

[Vatovec] As the Slovene defense minister, among other things you have also visited Australia, where you met with our relatives there. In view of that experience of yours, how would you assess the present situation at the conference on Slovenia of the World Slovene Congress [SSK], and that organization's prospects?

[Jansa] I must say that I felt wonderful among our relatives in Australia. It seems to me that there the homeland is something that is perceived differently than at home. The concept of the SSK is a very good one, which has also yielded some results already. The work of the members of that congress was also involved in Slovenia's independence efforts and the results of those efforts. Certainly things would have been different without them. Let me cite just one example: When the congress met in Cankar House, during the war itself, the world was sent numerous important messages, requests, cries, of which we could say that to a great extent they also had a decisive influence upon the reactions of

individual states in connection with the Yugoslav army's aggression at that time. That was one of the lucky coincidences, but not just a lucky one, since it was not a coincidence that the congress met at that time, upon the declaration of Slovene independence.

Regarding the current crisis in the SSK, I think that the situation is similar, although on a different level, to Slovene party life. When a certain period ends, the following goals are no longer as clear, tangible, and clear to everyone, goals with which it would be possible to achieve the same degree of unity as was possible in the case of independence. Now it is time for sober consideration, a sober analysis of how things will proceed, not just during the coming months but also during the coming years and decades. On the basis of this, it is also necessary to develop an intelligent strategy for the future. I think that all those who are participating in the SSK have to do this. Sooner or later, the SSK's activity could be very useful to the Slovene state again.

Federal

Government Denies Air Force Bombed Eastern Bosnia

LD1903174193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today denied allegedly using its Air Force in eastern Bosnia and confirmed its resolve not to make a move which could hamper the establishment of permanent peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

A statement by the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia says:

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hereby expresses concern over the alleged use of the Air Force in eastern Bosnia on 13 March 1993 and the violation of UN Security Council Resolution 781. It is surprised by the fact that the document which was adopted by the Security Council in this connection demands that the Serb side in Bosnia-Herzegovina explain the mentioned violation of UN Security Council Resolution 781—which, in advance, brands it as the offender. The UN secretary general is asked "to ensure that an investigation is conducted into the possible use of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for air attacks on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Therefore, the government considers it necessary to point to the following facts in the interest of establishing the truth.

It is widely known that a proposal for the deployment of military observers at airports was put forward by the most responsible leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We decided to make this sensitive and unusual move in order to refute the untrue and unscrupulous allegations that our air force has taken part in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a UN document sets out, of 465 no-fly zone violations, none referred to aircraft of the Yugoslav Air Force. We are astonished at the unilateral condemnation to the effect that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia violated the no-fly zone and, thus, threatened the peace process at a time when it is possible to negotiate the cessation of hostilities and a peaceful and just solution to the problem in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as this is of vital interest for Yugoslavia.

Because of such a one-sided perception of the events, the Muslim and the Croat side are automatically excused guilt. It is forgotten that on numerous occasions the Muslim side organized criminal acts on the territory it controls, above all in Sarajevo. The victims were civilians and Muslims blamed the Serb side. The Muslim side did this whenever there was a chance to reach important agreements and achieve a cessation of the war. The description of the planes and of the location where the bombing took place suggest that this was a provocation and planned subterfuge in order to put pressure on the UN Security Council.

Since the no-fly zone was proclaimed, the planes and helicopters of the Yugoslav Air Force have not violated Bosnia-Herzegovina air space even for humanitarian reasons—to evacuate the wounded and sick soldiers of the Serb Republic's army and the army of the Republic of Serb Krajina, in particular after the aggression of Croatia against UN protected areas.

On the aforementioned day, the Yugoslav Air Force planes did not violate Bosnia-Herzegovina airspace in any way. This was clearly confirmed by the UN monitors deployed at the airports in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We have no reason to suspect that their official reports were different or that their reports were falsified.

At the aforementioned time, the Yugoslav Air Force did not register any violations of Yugoslav air space. According to reports, the planes flying toward Yugoslavia were supposed to violate its air space. Nor were air activites registered in the area of eastern Bosnia at the time and at the location mentioned in the UN documents.

On this occasion, too, we confirm the resolve of Yugoslavia strictly to respect the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 781, as it has been doing so far, and we also confirm our resolve not to make any moves which could threaten the search for a just solution and the establishment of a permanent peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia. To this end we are also ready to undertake other measures to help find out the truth and to determine what really happened in this particular case, the statement concludes.

Air Force Says No Aircraft Over Bosnia Since May

LD1903211593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 19 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav aircraft have not flown over Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) since May 19 of last year and the Yugoslav Air Force and Air-Defense have no operational propeller-driven aircraft, the Yugoslav Air Force and Air-Defense Command said on Friday [19 March].

The communique issued by the Yugoslav Air Force and Air-Defense Command in connection with the statement made by spokeswoman of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Zagreb Shannon Boyd that three propeller-driven aircraft on March 13 raided Muslim villages near the town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina and then flew off in the direction of the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said that the unsubstantiated statement "has created an impression about the involvement of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in combat operations on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and contributed to the intensification of pressure" on Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Air Force and Air-Defense Command recalled that the last member of the Yugoslav Army and Air Force had left Bosnia-Herzegovina in May last year and that since then and not only since the introduction of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina in October, "not a single Yugoslav warplane has violated Bosnian air space."

"Therefore, the statement about the alleged involvement of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, made strictly on the basis of unverified allegations that three unidentified propeller-driven aircraft flew off in the direction of Yugoslavia after a raid, is incorrect and tendentious," the Yugoslav Air Force and Air-Defense Command said.

The command recalled that U.N. observers were stationed at all Yugoslav airports and airfields and that the "AWACS [airborne warning and control system] which are with such great precision guiding the aircraft which are air-dropping humanitarian aid to Bosnia, could have exactly registered the cited flights."

The Yugoslav Government on Friday also denied the reports about the alleged flights of Yugoslav aircraft over Bosnia-Herzegovina and said that Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims had many times during the peace talks so far presented false accusations against the Serbian side in order to step up pressure on Serbs.

Head of Jugoskandik Bank 'Guarantees' Payments

AU1903163693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 93 p 5

["Special" interview with Jezdimir Vasiljevic, owner of Jugoskandik Bank, by D.P; place and date not given: "I Guarantee With My Life That Savers Will Get Their Money"]

[Excerpts] "I guarantee with my life that all this fuss about Jugoskandik will be concluded in the interests of the savers and myself and to the detriment of those who started it." These were the words of Jezdimir Vasiljevic in a short interview with our paper on 16 March during his conversation with lawyer Stevan Protic [acting head of Jugoskandik], whom Jezdimir Vasiljevic is phoning from Tel Aviv almost every minute.

[BORBA] When will you return to Belgrade?

[Vasiljevic] My return depends on the outcome of the dispute with Montenegro over the oil confiscated from Jugoskandik. Considering that our accounts with foreign companies are blocked, I am now trying to work out a method of how to pay each of our depositors up to 2,000 German marks by next Tuesday [23 March]. At the same time we will hold talks with the state on lifting the blockade of our funds. If this fails, we will try to organize a payout abroad. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Can Jugoskandik pay its depositors from the funds in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[Vasiljevic] No, it cannot. Money is not rabbits that multiply in the vaults. I do not own a printing house in Topcider and I cannot print as much money as I need. I am not Dafina [Milanovic, head of Dafiment private bank], keeping money in vaults to multiply there. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Is the arrest of Ministers Savo Vlajkovic and Velimir Mihajlovic connected with Jugoskandik?

[Vasiljevic] They have nothing to do with us, they are only small fish in relation to those who should be arrested. [passage omitted]

General Panic Meets With Iraqi Defense Minister

AU1903132993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 93 p 3

[Report by B.S.: "Panic in Iraq—No Comment"]

[Text] Belgrade—Yugoslav military circles have not released any information on the visit to Iraq by Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army. The first information and assessments of the bilateral talks at the highest military level will follow after he returns. The date of his return has not been given. Panic's visit and meeting with Iraqi Defense Minister 'Ali Hasan al-Majid is considered to be a working visit and routine in relations among sovereign states.

All reports by foreign and domestic news agencies are based on the information received in Baghdad. Official Belgrade has yet to say anything. Confirmation, comment, or denial that the meeting was organized because of construction work in Iraq (there were plans for the production of tanks similar to the production at the 14 Oktobar plant in Krusevac, or the Djuro Djakovic plant in Slavonski Brod in the former SFRY) is yet to follow. Whether this visit is the creation of some kind of alliance of the countries that have found themselves under the blockade and whim of the U.S. Administration and military also has not been explained, as should the assumption that this is the renewal of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Iraq, the kind of relations that existed within the Nonaligned Movement.

Article Assesses Strength of Armies

AU1803112393 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by Milan Bozokin: "From One—Five Armies"]

[Text] The Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will mark its first anniversary soon. It was established after the transformation of the Yugoslav People's Army and the secession of the former Yugoslav republics. However, the armies of the former Yugoslav republics that have become independent states were built on Yugoslav People's Army foundations.

The SFRY Army had 180,000 men, of which 78,600 were "professionals" (officers), 1,850 tanks, approximately 2,000 artillery pieces of high caliber, more than 1,000 armored vehicles, about 400 combat aircraft, 120 combat helicopters, 11 submarines, 15 missile gunboats, 36 amphibians.... In the new state, the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has 135,000 men and approximately 400,000 reservists.

Of all the enormous weaponry of the Yugoslav People's Army—after withdrawing from the secessionist republics—the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Army managed to salvage only part of the military equipment. According to military sources, our federal army now has more than 900 tanks, 1,000 artillery pieces, 350 combat aircraft, five submarines, four frigates, and more than 100 combat helicopters. Under the new conditions, too, our army relies on weapons from domestic factories that managed to adapt production for military purposes in a very short period of time.

The armies on the territory of the former Yugoslavia emerged through "liberation" or "fatherland" wars against the former Yugoslav People's Army. Only the Macedonian Army managed to avoid armed conflict. The Macedonian Army was left with about 100 rifles and 120-mm mortars, two field hospitals, four airports, and about 8,000 military apartments. According to the available information, the Macedonian Army has approximately 20,000 men and 80,000 reservists. The army has the general command, the commands of three corps, and infantry units.

After the army of Yugoslavia, the strongest army is that of the Republic of Croatia, which was formed according to the "bits and pieces" system. Today, it has 105,000 active soldiers and about 100,000 reservists. According to the information of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Croatian Army has 400 heavy tanks and armored personnel carriers and one submarine. Croatia "inherited" about 170,000 pieces of infantry weapons, 10,600 artillery pieces and missile systems of all types, more than 1,000 combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, as many as 38,000 apartments, three large field hospitals, and three military airports from the former Yugoslav People's Army. This was not enough for Tudjman's ambitions and he has continuously been increasing the arsenal by buying abroad, despite the UN "ban."

Slovenia was the first one to form an army, although it is the smallest—approximately 15,000 men. If the need arises, [Slovene Defense Minister Janez] Jansa can mobilize another 85,000 reservists. They have 120 tanks, among which there are several M-84s left from the Yugoslav People's Army, 164 guns and artillery systems, 36,000 pieces of infantry weapons, and 17 Utva 75 planes. Slovenia also "inherited" two airports and 8,000 military apartments from the former army. Slovenia trains its army in six recruiting centers and its system of training is very similar to that of Austria.

The biggest unknown is Bosnia-Herzegovina because there are three armies on its territory: Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian. With 67,000 men, the army of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] is the most numerous. As foreign military sources claim, it has about 300 tanks, 180 armored personnel carriers, 480 artillery pieces, and about 20 combat aircraft. The Muslim and Croatian forces are about the same; each has approximately 50,000 men.

The Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is under Alija Izetbegovic's command, is the Muslim defense. It was set up on the principle of local units in the territories that suit the locally emerging commanders best. The finances come from various sources, but mainly from Islamic countries. Although the almanac of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London does not mention any data concerning the weaponry of the Bosnian Muslims, one could say with a great deal of certainty that Alija's fighters [reference ot Bosnian President Izetbegovic] have the Yugoslav version of the Kalashnikov, Zolja, Osa, and Stinger portable rocket launchers, mortars of all calibers, armed helicopters, heavy artillery pieces, and tanks. The airport in Cazin—one of the five airports that existed in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—is increasingly being used for bringing fresh arms to the green berets [Bosnian troops].

The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina are represented by the Croatian Defense Council, which emerged as a result of members of the Croatian Democratic Community in western Hercegovina arming themselves. They are armed and commanded directly from Croatia according to the traditions of Herzegovina Ustashas. In addition to these forces, the regular Army of the Republic of Croatia is also fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The difference between the Croatian Defense Council and Croatian Army is only formal.

By analyzing all of this, it is not difficult to conclude that the territory of the former Yugoslavia has become too small for such a large number of armed men. This is a large powder keg that can explode at any minute. If the American threats to send 120,000 NATO troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina on top of the 25,000 UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members come true, then this will be the greatest battlefield in the world after World War II.

Article Assesses Serb-Montenegrin Relations

AU1803155293 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 93 pp 16,17

[Article by Stojan Cerovic: "The Mountain Wreath [famous Montenegrin epic] of Garlic"]

[Text] Basically, the Serbs and the Montenegrins are brothers; basically, they have the same interests, they get along well, and, basically, there is no reason for them not to live in the same state. However, the news on that state that has come from the once famous Radio Erevan suggests that everything is, in fact, a little bit different, that is to say, totally opposite.

The prospects for FRY's future are as good as its president's power and influence. How much that is, everybody can see more clearly than Dobrica Cosic [FRY president] himself, who, I suspect, embellishes and extends with his writer's imagination what he in reality lacks. People say that once upon a time Slobodan Milosevic [Serbian president] admired Cosic, until he let him encroach upon his territory, that of absolute power. Now he does not feel even pity toward the writer, the former father of the former nation. It is quite probable that Milosevic will allow Vojislav Seselj Serbian Radical Party head] to humiliate Cosic even more than before, and perhaps even to depose him. In any case, the writer cannot get away with less than total rejection: He has been politically rejected both by the authorities and the opposition, abandoned by the majority of his old friends, and has no hope that history will understand his intentions and vindicate him.

For the young Montenegrin leadership, Cosic was one of the reasons why they accepted the joint state, but certainly more important is the fact that they had no other choice. As an old-style nationalist, Cosic flattered and fawned over the Montenegrins, all of which, of course, would have deceived no one, but there was of course the Army, which made [Montenegrin President] Bulatovic and [Montenegrin Prime Minister] Djukanovic naively pretend that they did not see what kind of brotherly state the FRY would be. Cosic appeared very clever, making monkeys of them, but it is not very hard to convince and deceive a weaker party. Such a kind of shrewdness is nothing to be proud of. Nevertheless, one can always come up with a thousand reasonable reasons for unity, the same ones that were used for the SFRY, after all.

Few people in Montenegro were keen on establishing their own state, least of all Bulatovic and Djukanovic. The long and beautiful history of independence fell by the wayside, and Montenegro was ready, more so than anyone else, to leave its crests and flags in the closet, until it found itself left alone with Serbia. Montenegro then got involved in a war over Dubrovnik, and having abandoned that, emerged even more bound to Serbia by mutual shame. They had scarcely managed to patch the FRY together when the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina broke out, as a result of which Montenegro in a brotherly way has shared the international isolation and sanctions.

Thereafter, Panic and Cosic were given a chance, but it was Milosevic and Seselj who won. Belgrade exported radicals such as [paramilitary leader] Ceko Dacevic and Branko Kostic to Montenegro, and also thousands of refugees from Herzegovina. Then, it was seen to that Montenegro will always be in the minority in the Federal Assembly, and that its share in that symbolic government is nothing more than symbolic. Finally, it has became so that one takes one's life in one's hands just to travel to Belgrade by train.

There is not a single remaining reasonable reason for Montenegro to remain in that state, except force and the fear of war. This is the first time that Montenegrins have backed away from war, which does mean, however, that they have probably learned something from their history. Or perhaps they are not the same people any more. Everything points to the fact that there is nothing left to bind them to Milosevic and Seselj, but they still want to be cautious, to wait for the right moment, to get away with it as best they can, which is something they had never been able to think of.

Montenegro could put up with the sanctions and isolation, and even with the political inequality in the FRY. But what will really cost Cosic's state its head is, however, the mental inequality, to which the slogan "Do not keep company with a lunatic" applies. Montenegro obviously does not share and cannot keep pace with the frenzy of the socialist-radical Serbia. It cannot do it even if it means war, because Serbia could drag it into an even worse war against who knows whom, or even into its own civil war. Montenegrins are, it appears, close to believing that it is better to die for one's own cause, if one has to die.

Twenty years ago, when I left Podgorica, I thought that I was leaving nothing worth remembering there, except the landscape, scents, and air. Now, there is nothing that surprises me as much as the fact that Montenegro has evidently become soberer, more temperate, more decent, and more tolerant than Serbia. Something has changed, and probably changed in Montenegro itself, but the explanation is rather to be found in the debasement of Serbia. The Serbian Assembly is deplorably quarrelsome, the television is unbearable, the authorities oppressive and shamelessly bellicose, while the opposition is ideologically narrow-minded and feeble. All public life is tied up in a knot of madness, folly, hatred, and self-deceit.

Montenegro's orientation toward Belgrade was always motivated by Belgrade's emancipating and civilizational influence, but what has remained of all that? Belgrade is where there is the most rapid emancipation for false prophets, patriotic robbers, religious zealots, and a weird bunch of oriental mystics, eccentrics, global psychics, and domestic soothsayers. Where else can one see a woman discussing world politics on television with garlic round her neck to ward off vampires? How should we understand the president of Serbia trying to export an antibureaucratic revolution to Moscow? Cosic would

happily purge Europe of its cosmopolitan intellectuals, while, I suppose, offering himself as a paradigm.

If there had not been all this, Montenegro would have more easily shared with Serbia the penalties of war, no matter how unnecessary the war is, and how inhumanly it has been waged. Montenegro would have let Belgrade, bigger and cleverer, handle the majority of the joint affairs, and just watched out to protect itself from some greater injustice. However, when those affairs are handled by people like [writer and Serb nationalist deputy] Brana Crncevic and Seselj, when madness is institutionalized in Serbia, Montenegro has no other choice than to take care of itself alone. Montenegrins who used to admire Belgrade, love it even, those who saw in Milosevic a statesman, and in Cosic a sage, now feel only pity for this city, and feel that, for the first time, they have become the wiser and more modern of the two. There is nothing left in Belgrade that can enlighten them, and they would gladly give it several useful tips, if it would listen to them.

Nevertheless, Serbia still has the Army, it still has its people in the Montengrin police, and above all it has patriots like Dacevic. These three facts are now the only and major covenant of the Serbian-Montengrin brotherhood and joint state. Cosic's shrewdness will not help any more, as he probably understands himself. Two years ago, he said that he would hang himself if the chetniks took power, but there he is, cordially chatting in the assembly with Dacevic, who has just been released from prison. As if Cosic had met his own shadow from which he cannot escape any more.

Let the independence of the Bijelo Polje tribunal be glorious, and let its prosecutor and his witnesses beware of it! If it starts to disembark from this ship of lunatics, Montenegro can expect the justice of a kangaroo court presided over by robbers, arsonists, and butchers dressed as patriots. After all, these will find enough work to do in Serbia, as soon as they run out of work in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Serbian regime did not take any good opportunity to let itself be honorably defeated, and to hand over power to better hands. Therefore, it has come to such an orgy of madness spread beyond any known boundaries that it threatens to raise doubts about all the theories on human nature and society. When everything reaches its end, the world will take a rest, and will probably hear nothing about Serbs for a while, while Montenegro, if there is still enough of it, cannot avoid counting how many Dacevics there are.

To the socialist-radical coalition in Belgrade, Podgorica responded by introducing the liberals into the government. In comparison with Seselj, Slavko Perovic is Pericles, and if it comes to swords and spears, Montenegrins will have something to recall. As for the brotherly affection, we had better leave it for some other occasion.

Cosic Views Serb-Montenegrin Relations

AU2203090293 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, by Nikola Ivanovic; place and date not given: "Faith in Historical Maturity"; first paragraph is POBJEDA introduction:]

[Text] In a time of dramatic changes on these territories, Dobrica Cosic, president of the Republic of Yugoslavia, is a man whose wisdom, political rationality and undoubted authority for most of the citizens, inspires hope that the outcome might, after all, be beneficial for the fate of the federation of Serbia and Montenegro. That is why POBJEDA's editor in chief asked him to answer a few crucial questions, on which the future development of the situation in Yugoslavia might depend.

[Ivanovic] The young federal state is undergoing a series of trials. How can certain crucial issues between Serbia and Montenegro be overcome?

[Cosic] The trials of the new federal state are multiplying. Today, Montenegro and Serbia are in a state of legal, social, political, and moral collapse, so any form of national and state unity is hard to achieve; state sovereignties, social egotisms, party exclusiveness, leaders' ambitions, and private interests are in conflict. There can be no real state or national unity for as long as they are based on traditional ideological premises—dynastic and Titoist sovereignties. These premises, such sovereignties, are anachronistic because the contents of classical state sovereignty and subjectivity, so insisted upon today, are put before national and civic sovereignty, before the free individual as the basic authority in a territorial and political community.

In the Tito era, republic and state sovereignty was party sovereignty and party-bureaucratic manipulation, a social, national, ideological alibi for personal or oligarchic authority; for bureaucratic despotism. As long as the sovereignty of the republic and state is primarily seen in the personal equality of bureaucrats, in a distribution of power, in the counting of ministerial portfolios and diplomatic missions, it will not be a national or civic unity, but rather a bureaucratic, partocratic unity that is a negation of democracy. I see the road to Serbian and Montenegrin unity in the integral equality of citizens, in the mutual respect of historical, spiritual, ethnopsychological specific qualities, in the abolition of all forms and contents of a party state, in the development of autochthonous creative powers and democratic institutions, in the rule of law and political pluralism.

[Ivanovic] In which cases is it necessary to respect the principle of equality of federal units?

[Cosic] In both nature and society, the realization of unity is the most complex and laborious process. Every form of unity calls for great and rational efforts to create

and continuously to renew its content. At the present level of social, political and civil consciousness, the equality of federal units, as a condition for national and state unity, must be an equality that has been agreed upon [dogovorna ravnopravnost]. The present Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not provide for this kind of equality until immanent democratism [demokratizam] takes over in the entire state being; the present Constitution is vague on many points, and it provides maneuvering space for political subjectivism, party and personal despotism; it contains and allows for elements of the Brioni concept of a federation, which caused and initiated the collapse of the Yugoslav state.

The European and international integration processes, the creation of various forms of modern "civil society," are in true opposition with the traditional concept of the state and its attributes. In my opinion, on our territory we have the following situation: We have three parallel, mutually uncoordinated, and in certain ways antagonistic states. Expensive, inefficient, bureaucratic states, plagued by friction, disunity and the weakening of natural and human potential. That is why I am in favor of a fundamental constitutional reform of all three states on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro, a change and improvement of the federal and republican constitutions and their coordination. We will soon know whether the new assemblies, the federal and the republics', are ready to go to work on the constitutional and legal development of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Ivanovic] Could you say something about the so-called structural errors in the constituting of the new state. In the federal parliament we have deputies who do not recognize the federal state, but they accept it "de facto." Are we once again threatened by the "Mesic syndrome?"

[Cosic] I would say that the "Mesic syndrome" is at work here. This is a syndrome of state destruction. It is present in both republics. Those who believe that Montenegro is exploiting Serbia and blackmailing it with the fact that it has the sea, and those who believe that Montenegro would have been spared the sanctions in its "ecological state," those who believe that the Montenegrins could be happy if they could separate politically from Serbia, are short-sighted. These people are pushing the peoples of Montenegro and Serbia into great historical misfortunes. It would be superfluous to enumerate them.

[Ivanovic] How would you evaluate the relations between the two most influential parties in the republics?

[Cosic] These two parties still condition the relations between Serbia and Montenegro. In the existing circumstances, these relations are dependent on the will of the leaders, or in the better case, on party states.

[Ivanovic] You have stressed on numerous occasions that our country has no territorial ambitions towards the former republics, and that our army is not, unlike that of the Republic of Croatia, involved in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although we are innocent, we are nevertheless still considered guilty. How do we proceed?

[Cosic] We will continue being the "aggressor" on our own hearth, our own homestead, and our own cemetery; we will go on being the "aggressor" until the world powers come to the conclusion that they too, can profit from the fact that we are not the aggressor, and that it will not be to their disadvantage if we are given the same rights as all the other peoples in former Yugoslavia. It seems that it is our fate to suffer until our suffering becomes harmful to the EC, the United States and Russia. Judging all in all, this will not happen in the near future. However, if we want somehow to influence our fate, we must change ourselves, our general goals, our national and state policy, our attitude towards the world in which we live. The character, the content and the extent of these existential changes cannot be decided solely by political parties. I repeat: It is imperative that we pull together our patriotic consciousness and will, our political sense, our scientific and expert knowledge, and our experiences as advanced and developed societies and peoples. Our fate will be a sorry one if only time, human suffering and the necessity of survival prevail on us to pull ourselves together. Unfortunately, this has most often been the case in the course of our national existence.

[Ivanovic] What political options are blocking the development of democracy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[Cosic] Many factors are obstructing the social and democratic renewal of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. International sanctions and isolation are primarily the factors which are causing our deterioration. At home the negative factors are the Titoistic ideological legacy and the autocracy present in the Socialist Party of Serbia, the right-wing conservative opposition which bases its ideology on "Ravna Gora democracy" [Ravna Gora was where the chetniks assembled during World War II], the nationalistic extremism of the Serbian Radical Party, also of Chetnik provenance, Montenegrin secessionism expressed in various forms, and the conformity and defeatism of the Serbian "elitist" intelligentsia. The basis for all this is the low level of political enlightenment among the people, who are being pushed into national and social despair by poverty and the present isolation from the world. However, do not be surprised when I tell you that I do not consider the problems of democracy in our present situation to be the primary problem existing in our society and our state. Apart from economic poverty, the worst thing in our society is the absence of any real awareness of our situation and position, ignorance, disorder, laziness, anarchy, the rule of stupidity and dishonesty in many places where decisions concerning individuals and the people are made.

[Ivanovic] What is the international position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the moment?

[Cosic] It is very, very grave. However, I would say that it is gradually improving, thanks to hints that the world has common sense and pragmatism. It is becoming evident that international factors are realizing that the Serbs are not the only demons in the Balkans. What progress for "informational civilization!"

[Ivanovic] The United States and Russia have recently become more active in the disentanglement of the Yugoslav drama. How do you view the latest moves of Washington and Moscow?

[Cosic] It is still too early to claim that the United States and Russia have become more actively involved in the "disentanglement" (maybe even entanglement) of the Yugoslav drama. I believe that a new, more active and democratic Russian policy in the Balkans would be in the interest of both Russia and the Balkans. Moreover, I hope that President Clinton's policy will be different from Bush's toward the Yugoslav tragedy. I want to believe that President Clinton and his government will realize that the American interest in the Balkans and in Yugoslav territory can be better represented than it has been so far, that there is a better way than the former American indifference towards the liberty, rights and justice of the Serbian people, precisely values that are the spiritual foundations of the American nation.

[Ivanovic] Separatism used to be dished up to us from Slovenia and Croatia. Could it be said that it now has the support of certain parties in Serbia and Montenegro?

[Cosic] I believe we should no longer close our eyes to separatism in Serbia and Montenegro. This separatism can become a malignant tumor on the national organisms of Serbia and Montenegro. It can destroy us unless we oppose it with democracy, honesty and a modern political concept of a new mutual country.

While realizing the destructive danger that threatens the survival of the mutual state of Montenegro and Serbia, I want to say to the readers of POBJEDA that it is my strong conviction that, even when faced with the present trials, the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro will show historical maturity and their collective historical intelligence, and will not allow foreign politicians and demagogues to lead them into further suffering.

Commentary Views Possible Rift With Serbia

AU2203082893 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 93 pp 12, 13

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovic: "The Montenegrin Counterattack"]

[Text] Fear of Serbia's destructive inclinations is now forcing the Montenegrin leadership to intensify its preparations for the creation of a more serious political shield against Belgrade. Independent circles are interpreting Bulatovic's silence over the scam involving the distribution of mandates in the Federal Government as waiting for the outcome of the political fate of Dobrica Cosic, the man who personifies what is called the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For the time being, there are no indications that Milosevic has actually decided to remove Cosic, but the possibility cannot be excluded. Everything depends on foreign factors. If the sanctions are intensified, and everything points in that direction, Cosic could easily become superfluous. At the moment, Dedinje needs him to pacify Montenegro, while abroad he softens Dedinje's negotiating position. However, there is increasingly less space for this position. Milosevic holds the remaining move in his power, with which he would take all the power for himself.

The Third Man

The opposition in Belgrade is no good, so Podgorica remains the only center which disrupts "state harmony." Evaluating for MONITOR the weight of the announced intentions to bring down Cosic, Slobodan Antonic, from the Institute for Political Studies, says that objective conditions for this do not, as yet, exist. Antonic says that the results of a public opinion survey on this subject show that 80 percent of those surveyed are against removing Cosic. However, Antonic claims that the situation could change drastically if Cosic becomes the target of Vucelic's television. "The phenomenon of the 'third man' functions only if he is not exposed to intensive television satanization," says Antonic, and illustrates this with the cases of Milan Babic [Knin municipality president], Ante Markovic [former SFRY prime minister] and Milan Panic [former FRY prime minister].

"I believe that his own concept destroyed Cosic," says Slobodan Inic in his interview for MONITOR. He has lived to see his idea become reality, says Inic, and adds that even in the West they have realized that he is the father of the war insanity. In Montenegro, Cosic said: "We cannot do what we can," which means that he too, is aware of his failure, but he is still not giving up, Inic believes. "He fathered many ideological children throughout Serbia and Montenegro, and they repaid him, among other things, by preparing a resolution about his responsibility in the Federal Assembly," Inic concludes.

Regardless of Cosic's fate, Milosevic could soon add a radical dimension to the escalating crisis with Podgorica. This can initially be expected on only one level, because experience shows that he never acts on a wide scale. In Belgrade, Branko Kostic [federal vice president] already visualizes himself as federal president, from where he could influence the war polarization within Montenegro. Furthermore, Kostic would then be the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army.

As things stand now, it seems that Bulatovic will not accept this development, even if it means leaving the Federal Assembly. The vacuum that would ensue might very well be the crucial moment, but an insistence on waiting for this situation might catch Podgorica off guard. With the onset of a hungry spring, the sudden

collapse of the myth of "Serbian bread" is further deteriorating in Montenegro. With the support of Cetinje, Bulatovic could use this to call on Europe to help the Montenegrins. The more he plays on the card of a strong Montenegrin diplomatic action, Bulatovic lessens the risk of Milosevic simply turning out the lights and fashioning things to his liking.

A New Tito

"The Belgrade regime is now entering its fourth great crisis," says Antonic, but adds that "its possible fall should not be expected before the end of the year." The first three crises took place in the time between the spring of 1990, and the Vidovdan Assembly [Vidovdanski sabor] in 1992, says Antonic, and stresses that they were the result of the ruling oligarchy's initial disorientation in conditions of multiparty rule, which almost led to a coup (in March 1991). They resolved the last crisis, which occurred at the beginning of last summer, by introducing Cosic and Panic, who neutralized the objective advantage of "the opposition's national legitimacy at that moment." "The energy of that Assembly [Vidovdanski sabor] simply vanished into thin air," says Antonic, and concludes that the opposition, after the additional electoral shock, is definitely incapable of seriously undermining the regime.

"The Federation was put together incorrectly, because it constantly produces conflicts that threaten it," says Inic, and observes that "the Serbian and Montenegrin political elite is incapable of politically realizing the aspirations of the two peoples." The mistake was probably made right at the start, when Cosic was placed at the head of the federal state, claims Inic. "Milosevic wanted it this way, because Cosic has authority, but he does not have a political organization behind him, a thing that in our case does not really mean anything. Cosic assumed he would become a new Tito, but he was greatly mistaken," says Inic.

At the moment, in Belgrade there is justified belief that, regardless of what TV propaganda claims, there is not going to be a harvest this year. Even though some kind of compulsory selling [prinudni otkup] is being discussed, everything points to the fact that in Belgrade, bread stamps can be expected by the end of July at the latest, while in Serbian border areas this can be expected even sooner. Theoretically speaking, the present steep fall in living standards makes conditions ideal for an outbreak of social unrest, but owing to inebriation with national masochism, it is unlikely that this will happen soon. Moreover, it is even less likely that the opposition could make use of the situation. The possible new pressure of the international community, without a definite threat of military intervention, will be a good excuse for Milosevic's regime to ask for new sacrifices.

Of course, if the Montenegrins are really ready to back out of the war pact with Serbia, everything could be used in order to bring about a new political turnabout in Belgrade. The authorities and the opposition are united around at least one issue and that is that Montenegro must be kept under direct control, since the sea represents a basic strategic factor in the creation of the greater Serbian state. Even if the Serbs were to get some territories on the other side of the Drina River, the loss of the Montenegrin coast would mean the definite undoing of the aspirations to realize political hegemony through territory.

Although few, there are places in Belgrade where it is admitted that the Montenegrins no longer have a single valid reason to stay with Serbia, especially in view of what it is like today and what it will be like tomorrow. The historical truth about the unconditional Montenegrin alliance was never honored here, and, probably because of the clique [bulumenta] of Terazije Montenegrins, a great number of Serbian citizens believe that Montenegro has an ongoing obligation towards Belgrade. Yet they do not even suspect (because that is the way it should be) that, for example, last month's electric shock caused by damage to the Obrenovac thermoelectric power plant was not saved by a miracle, but with electric power from Montenegro, with the long accumulated reserves of the Mratinje hydroelectric power plant.

Time for a fresh start.

[Box, p 13]

What the Army is Doing

The Army is an unavoidable factor in the crisis on the Podgorica-Belgrade route. There are indications that the pressure on the Montenegrins in the Yugoslav Army is being continuously stepped up, which is making the situation impossible. Ethnic cleansing within the army structure has also been intensified. Among the first to be hit by this was the Military Medical Academy in Banjica. Furthermore, direct military aid to the Bosnian Serbs is also intensifying. At the beginning of last week, a whole artillery battery (32 guns, six of them multiple rocket launchers) was sent to the Drina front from the 4 July barracks on Vozdovac. Furthermore, MONITOR has information about Russian pilots in the air force. Reports in the international press about the recent arms deal negotiated in Rumania, according to which Russian weapons were sold to Belgrade, might turn out to be justified.

FRY May Not Participate in War Crimes Trial

LD2103171093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 21 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, March 21 (TANJUG)—The existing atmosphere in the international public, lack of objective approach and propaganda against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in a part of the world media could result in Belgrade's decision not to take part in the work of an international war crime tribunal and reject its future

decisions, Yugoslav Justice Minister Zoran Stojanovic said in an interview to the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK on Sunday [21 March].

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia might insist that its own laws be applied because they also cover the problem of genocide and war crimes and provide sanctions stricter than those envisaged by international conventions, said Stojanovic.

Any other form of Yugoslavia's joining the action would bind it to carry out the decisions of an international tribunal, which would be contrary to the Yugoslav Constitution which forbids extradition of its citizens.

"It is undisputable that the war criminals in the territory of former Yugoslavia should be brought to trial and we all agree in that respect," said Stojanovic.

He also spoke about the struggle of republic and federal courts against crime in Yugoslavia and assessed that crime has reached such proportions that it has also infiltrated in some economic and political structures.

The world is already familiar with the practice of sacrificing senior politicians in order to calm public dissatisfaction as well as with internal political struggles, said Stojanovic and added that "this is not the case in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," where the process of privatization is underway and insolvent firms and various frauds are not uncommon as a result of that process, which is often uncontrolled.

Government Plans Membership of IMF, World Bank

LD1903173293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) has instructed the three competent ministries urgently to draw up a plan of diplomatic and other activities required to secure the F.R.Y.'s membership in international financial organizations, in particular the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank. TANJUG learned on Friday [19 March].

The respective activities will be among the Yugoslav Government's priority tasks in the month of March. The list of the federal government's priorities for the month of March includes the drawing up of a proposal of a new composition of the working groups which will participate in the further work of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government has decided that it is necesary to consider the need for the setting up of a working body to coordinate activities in connection with the Yugoslav delegation's further participation in the conference on the former Yugoslavia and the talks on the establishment of relations with former Yugoslav Republics.

The Yugoslav Finance Ministry has been instructed to prepare, in cooperation with the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and competent republican agencies, a plan for the meeting of the country's external financial obligations once the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia are lifted.

The sanctions were introduced in May last year because of Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, although not a single Yugoslav soldier is to be found there, whereas 60,000 regular army troops of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia have been fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the side of the Muslim-Croatian coalition.

Serbia

Government Protests Trial of Serbs in Dubrovnik

LD2003233193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1942 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—In reaction to an expected trial of a group of citizens of Serb nationality before the Military Court in Dubrovnik [Croatia], the Government of the Republic of Serbia has decided to raise its voice in sharp protest against a flagrant violation of basic human rights of the Serbs in Croatia. At the same time, the Government of the Republic of Serbia wishes to note that a new stage of ethnic cleansing has begun in Croatia and that both the domestic and world public should be informed about it. The coming trial in Dubrovnik will force prominent Serbs living in Croatia to leave.

A report about pressures on the Serbs in Croatia has been sent to the Yugoslav mission in the United Nations; to Cyrus Vance; Robert Owen, a UN rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia; and to the International Lawyers Union.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia wishes to draw the attention of world organizations to the fact that one of the main conditions Croatia had to fulfill to gain its recognition was to guarantee rights to minority nations. It is now obvious that this condition has been violated in the most flagrant way, the Government of the Republic of Serbia says in conclusion.

Macedonia

Serbs in Macedonia Demand Constitutional Changes

LD2003122593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1205 GMT 20 Mar 93

[By Vladimir Tibl]

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—Serbs in Macedonia demand changes in the constitution of that former Yugoslav republic which would entitle them to the same rights as those enjoyed by ethnic Albanians and ethnic Turks.

Milan Stamenkovic, vice-president of the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia (DPSM), recently visited Vranje in the Republic of Serbia and presented a brochure listing their demands for a constitutional and legislative reform.

In 1991, Serbs were wiped out of the Macedonian Constitution which, as far as ethnic communities are concerned, mentions only Macedonians, ethnic Albanians, ethnic Turks, Romanies and Vlachs.

Serbs in Macedonia insist that they should have no less and no more rights than the other ethnic groups and minorities—the rights to elementary and secondary schooling, their own programmes in radio and television, issuing of newspapers, and setting up of cultural societies and church organizations.

There are not enough elementary schools for Serbs in Macedonia, 9 not a single secondary school, no Serbian-language radio or TV broadcast, no newspaper, no cultural society and no church organization.

All this, however, has been granted to the other ethnic groups and communities—Macedonians, ethnic Albanians, ethnic Turks and Romanies.

Macedonian residents of Serb nationality also insist on changes in the election law which would enable them to be represented in the Macedonian Parliament.

The problem concerning the rights of Serbs in Macedonia was also raised by Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic during his visit to Greece in early February.

"Serbs in Macedonia are deprived of even the basic national and human rights," said Cosic and added that certain elements of the policy pursued by the government in Skopje "cannot be regarded as democratic, humanistic and civilizational."

International mediator Geert Ahrens, who chairs the working group on ethnic and national minorities of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, said during his recent visit to Macedonia that the demands voiced by the Serbs were sensible and moderate.

The Macedonian Parliament has never discussed these demands, while the local media portray them as "a part of the well-known scenario to create greater Serbia."

Macedonian police have intervened on several occasions when the local Serbs sang national songs or displayed their national symbols in public. The latest such case was a police raid of the village of Kuceviste when the villagers celebrated New Year's eve.

According to the 1991 census, Serbs account for 44,000 or 2.2 percent of Macedonia's population of two million. Serbs, however, claim that their community numbers about 300,000.

Other ethnic groups have also insisted on a new census, and it will be held under U.N. auspices this year.

Of the four former Yugoslav republics, only Macedonia has not been internationally recognized. Its recognition is opposed by Greece which argues that Macedonia has territorial aspirations towards a northern Greek province of the same name.

Gligorov, Albanian Representative Discuss Relations

AU2003171493 Tirana ATA in English 1135 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—Gligorov, Macedonian president, met in Skopje with Leonidha Mertiri, representative of the Republic of Albania.

The Albanian representative conveyed to Mr. Gligorov the greetings of President Berisha. Also he concentrated on the opportunities to enhance bilateral relations in all the fields of mutual concern. As neighbouring countries we cannot stay far from one another, he said. We are for the international recognition of Macedonia, because its independence and stability is to the interest of this republic and the whole region as well.

The Albanian representative focused on the issue of the Albanians in Macedonia. The Albanians constitute a large number of the population in this republic. As a democratic state we are against discriminating laws and wish that the constitution of Macedonia observe all the human and national rights of the Albanians. The solution to such problems as soon as possible, the integration of the Albanians to all the structures of the country will also create a favourable atmosphere of understanding and friendship between these two countries.

On his part, President Gligorov said he was pleased to meet with the first representative of the Republic of Albania in Macedonia. Every meeting with President Berisha, said he, has been valuable. We have always understood each other and upheld the same views in regard to the democratic processes. We are for a democratic constitution, he said. I personally have not been for a national one. This would help the aggressor create such situations as it is doing in Serbia and elsewhere.

Dealing with the situation in the region and particularly the Serb aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he agreed with the Albanian representative in regard to the danger that the Serb forces might stretch the conflict in Kosovo and broader. This calls for the immediate international interference. They expect the DL [Democratic Alliance] and the Albanians of Kosovo divert from the ongoing peaceful road, in order to launch a new massacre. This is also reflected in Serbs' recent ambitions to Macedonia. Serb circles still think of joining Macedonia to Serbia. This will never happen.

The Albanian representative in Macedonia, Mr. Mertiri, met with the speaker of the parliament, Stojan Andov, Premier Crvenkovski, and others.

Kosovo

Border Guards Reportedly Harass Albanians

AU1903205393 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.54 in English 18 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Serbian Military Border-Guards Harass Albanians"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Late last year, a unit of the Serbian military forces had been stationed at the Bince village, municipality of Viti. This unit has been "guarding" the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. During last year only, over 100 Albanians were subjected to maltreatment by the soldiers of this unit and their officers.

Albanians from both sides of the border-line have always had strong economic, trading, and family relations. Last Thursday [11 March], (market day in Viti), seven peasants from the Tanisevci village were halted, and with their arms chained were forcibly taken to the military barracks. Their merchandise loaded on horse and donkeybacks (maize, potatoes and other items) was confiscated. They were subsequently taken to the police station in Viti and held there till late at night. Similar harassment underwent some 25 peasants more from Maline and Tanishevc, two villages in Macedonia.

As reported, a similar unit was recently stationed at Orllat village, municipality of Glogovac (central Kosovo). Soldiers and officers of this unit, with their arms in ready, have been provoking and maltreating local residents permanently.

The military build-up and frequent movements of Serbian military and paramilitary forces in Kosovo aim at causing fear and uncertainty among the Albanian population.

The recent visit to Kosovo of the Serbian Defense Minister, Marko Negovanovic, was done in order to inspect, as the Serbian sources say, the preparations and the readiness of the Serbian police and military forces to defend the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia.

On the other side the Kosovo Albanians fear further escalation of army and police brutality.

Serbian Defense Minister Visits Republic

AU1803132693 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 53 in English 17 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Serbian Defense Minister in Kosovo"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] The Serbian police and military violence and terror against the Albanians in Kosovo has been deteriorating over the last few months. A new campaign of violence has been launched under the pretext of arms searches. Subject to this campaign are exclusively Albanians. Violence against the ethnic Albanians may intensify following the yesterday's visit to Kosovo of the Serbian Defense Minister, Marko Negovanovic.

Today's edition of the Serbian local daily JEDINSTVO, reports that the Serbian Minister Negovanovic met yesterday in Pristina with Milos Simovic, mayor of the so-called Pristina district and with the Serbian military and police officials in Kosovo, general-major Slobodan Bojic and Svetislav Djurdjevic.

According to an official statement, which is transmitted by today's JEDINSTVO, Negovanovic and his partners in Kosovo exchanged information on the political and security situation in Kosovo, as well as on joint action in the defense field. According to the newspaper, it was said that preparations have been completed successfully. Readiness of the respective bodies is in full alert in order to defend the constitutional order and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia, the newspaper reports.

Human Rights Activist Released After Interrogation

AU1803132893 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 53 in English 17 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "Dr. Cana Released"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Dr. Zekeria Cana, a historian and human rights activist was released yesterday, after having been held in custody in Pristina for 28 hours. Dr. Cana told today's BUJKU that he was uninterruptedly questioned in relation to his activities as a human rights activist and on his travels abroad. Dr. Cana said that he had been psychologically tortured, and that he was threatened that if he continued his activities he would finally be imprisoned. BUJKU reports that Dr. Cana fainted while giving his statement utterly exhausted, at the BUJKU premises.

Yesterday, seven security officers and two policemen searched the home of Dr. Cana. Material belonging to the Human Rights Council and a camera belonging to Dr. Cana were confiscated as well as an address book containing names and phone numbers of a great number of people.

This was the twenty first time that Dr. Cana was arrested.

In an indicative article concerning Dr. Cana's arrest, today's Serbian daily JEDINSTVO, says: "We couldn't obtain any information whether rumors that the President of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova has been arrested. Concerning this, the authorities of the MUP (Ministry of Interior Affairs) are also keeping quiet."

ATA Details Serbian 'Constant Repression' in Education

AU1903154493 Tirana ATA in English 1125 GMT 19 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 19 (ATA)—March 17 was the last day for the Serbian authorities to open schools and faculties for the Albanian pupils, students, and teachers in Kosovo.

For the Serbian party, too, March 17 was the last day for the representatives of the Albanian education of Kosovo to answer whether they would work with the plan programs of 1990, after they were approved by the Serbian Ministry of Education.

But the situation continues the same. Serbian authorities did not open the doors of the Albanian schools but the Albanians did not demand the approval of the plan programs by Serbia, either.

Serbia's aim is clear: the grave situation of the Albanian education is being exploited for political blackmail.

History and the present reality of education reflect the sufferings and sacrifices of the Albanian pupils, students, and teachers to keep alive the Albanian education.

Currently 25,000 elementary school pupils, 61,500 secondary school pupils, and all the students of Pristina University are not attending school.

All the Albanian teachers have not been paid since January 1990.

Alongside the suspension of the Albanian education, Serbian authorities have been exercising constant repression.

About 7,000 teachers, directors, and working people of education have so far been beaten, maltreated, punished, tried, and imprisoned. Serbian police has also beaten 200 pupils.

Due to the systematic repressions over the last two years, 22 thousand pupils of the elementary schools, seven thousand students, and 1,123 teachers have been forced to abandon school.